### Unbeatable Wigan lose at last

T HAD to happen one day but increasingly it was becoming difficult to say precisely when. The unthinkable finally happened on Sunday when Wigan's eight-year strangered on Rugby League's Challenge Cup was ended in the fifth round by First Division Salford. Wigan might be able to beat prospective Super League teams at will but at The Willows they were up against a determined selection of Central Park old boys. Coached by Andy Gregory, who

won five of his seven Wembley winners' medals with Wigan, Salford also had a reliable last line of defence in the shape of Steve Hampson, a veteran full-back happy to reinforce his claim that the perennial champions had discarded him

But it was not just the big names who came back to haunt Wigan. Scott Naylor, a reserve whom even the most dedicated Central Park regular might struggle to remember, weighed in with two important tries in the victory. Another Wigan reject, the stand-off Steve Blakeley. kicked five goals and took the Man of the Match award.

There were no complaints from the holders. "I'm disappointed but the better side won on the day," said the Wigan captain Shaun Edwards.

Cup ties are never easy at Salford's compact ground, especially when 10,000 partisan supporters are packed in, but the team sheets still stacked up in Wigan's

Cryptic crossword by Crispa



Salford's David Young offloads as he is tackled by Wigan's second-

There seemed no way a side boasting the power of Tuigamala, the pace of Offiah and Robinson and the class of Paul, Connolly and Edwards could be beaten by a collection of has-beens and never-weres but Salford suggested an upset from

Young's touchdown from Lee's kick gave the home side a lead they surrendered, then Naylor took Lee's pass to score another. Blakeley kicked his second goal,

then added a penalty and the First

Division side were 14-0 in front. Tuigamala managed a try just before the interval, only for Naylor to restore Salford's advantage early in the second half. Offiah scored to reduce the deficit to 10 points but Salford held their own and put the issue beyond doubt when Martin scored 13 minutes from time.

2 Preliminary plan for striking bar

3 Simple form of illumination (5)

4 Common or very far from

common in a tree (7)

cereal costs (6)

experience (9)

8 A supplementary note about

Right name coined for a nasty

8 Concentrated, being somewhat

publicity (13) 15 Reckless writer after dope (9)

(7) 20 Section of the Spanish and

21 A suggestion to involve the

25 Many blame the box (5)

queen causing a row (7)

22 Building up reserves can be so

18 Get to know about the Calluna

French taking people in (7)

Men test-drive a convertible for

In the next round Salford will face the new favourites St Helens, who

#### Football results and league tables

FA CARLING PREMIERSHIP: Boilen O. Middlesbrough 1, Newcastle 2; Nottre Forest 0, Arsenal 1; QPR 1, Liverpool 0; Shelf Wed :

|               | P  | W  | D  | L  | F  | A  | P |
|---------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| Newcastle     | 25 | 19 | 3  | 3  | 49 | 20 |   |
| Man Utd       | 26 | 15 | 8  | 5  | 47 | 20 | l |
| Liverpool     | 28 | 14 | 7  | 5  | 50 | 22 | 4 |
| Aston Villa   | 25 | 13 | 6  | 6  | 34 | 18 | 4 |
| Totlenham     | 26 | 11 | 3  | 6  | 33 | 25 | 4 |
| Bleckburn     | 26 | 12 | 5  | 9  | 40 | 28 | 4 |
| Arsenal       | 26 | 11 | 8  | 7  | 34 | 25 | 4 |
| Everton       | 26 | 11 | 7  | 8  | 39 | 28 | 4 |
| Notim Forest  | 28 | 10 | 10 | 6  | 35 | 35 | 4 |
| Chelses       | 28 | 10 | 9  | 7  | 30 | 26 | - |
| Leade         | 25 | 10 | 5  | 10 | 31 | 37 | 1 |
| Middlesbrough | 26 | 9  | 6  | 11 | 27 | 33 |   |
| West Ham      | 25 | 8  | 5  | 11 | 27 | 35 | - |
| Shelf Wed     | 25 | 7  | 8  | 10 | 35 | 39 | 1 |
| Southampton   | 25 | 5  | 10 | 10 | 25 | 36 | 1 |
| nobeldmiw     | 28 | 8  | 6  | 14 | 36 | 52 | 1 |
| Coventry      | 26 | 5  | 9  | 12 | 33 | 49 | 4 |
| Man City      | 26 | 8  | 6  | 14 | 16 | 36 | 3 |
| QPR           | 26 | 5  | 3  | 18 | 19 | 40 |   |
|               |    |    |    |    |    |    |   |

Crystel Pelace 0, Sheffletd Utd 0: Derby 0.
Wolverhampton 0; Luton 3, Grimsby 2; Milwall
1, Reading 1; Oldham 2, Norwich 0;
Portsmouth 2, Leicester 1; Stoke 3, Ipawich 1,
Sunderland 0, Port Vele 0, Tranmere 1,
Barnsley 3; Watford 1, Charlton 2; West Brons
3, Southend 1.

| rt V | ale 0 | , Teg  | nme   | re 1. |        |     | Bar    |
|------|-------|--------|-------|-------|--------|-----|--------|
| by   | 1, Cì | narito | ın 2; | Wes   | it Bri | OTH | Sci    |
|      |       |        |       |       |        |     | Ger    |
| P    | w     | D      | L     | F     | A      | Pta | Roy    |
| 29   | 14    | 10     | 5     | 46    | 31     | 52  | E      |
|      |       |        |       |       |        |     | Car    |
| 26   | 13    | 10     | 5     | 41    | 29     | 49  |        |
| 29   | 12    | 9      | 8     | 38    | 32     | 45  | 1-16-1 |
| 28   | 12    | 8      | 9     | 34    | 35     | 44  | Mis    |
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| 29   | 11    | 10     | 8     | 40    | 41     | 43  | Hai    |
| 28   | 11    | 9      | 8     | 40    | 34     | 42  | Lux    |
| 30   | 10    | 11     | 9     | 31    | 37     | 41  | Full   |
| 28   | 10    | 10     | 8     | 50    | 41     | 40  | Tea    |
| 28   | 10    | 10     | ä     | 42    | 30     | 40  | 1      |
| 31   | 10    | 9      | 12    | 48    | 48     | 39  | BE     |
|      |       |        |       |       |        |     | DI     |
| 30   | 10    | 9      | 11    | 10    | 37     | 39  |        |
| 27   | 10    | 9      | 8     | 333   | :37    | 39  | Ab     |
| 29   | 9     | 11     | Ð     | 45    | 37     | 38  | 111    |
| 27   | В     | 12     | 7     | 11.2  | 33     | 38  | 1      |
| 28   | 8     | 11     | 21    | 17    | .31    | 35  | 1      |
| 28   | 9     | 8      | 11    | 37    | 34     | 35  | 1 fes  |
| _    |       | -      | -     |       |        | -   |        |

Bristol City 3, Bournermouth 0; Bumboy 0, Crewe 1; Carllele 2, Brentford 1; Hull 1, Bristol Rovero 3; Oxbod Utt 1, Brighton 1; Puterborough 2, Shrewsbury 2; Swenson 0,

| Blackpool 1; Yo | ork 2, | Roth | igri ic | nn 2 |      |     |     |
|-----------------|--------|------|---------|------|------|-----|-----|
|                 | P      | W    | D       | L    | F    | A   | Pts |
| Swindran        | 27     | 16   | 8       | 3    | 45   | 181 | 36  |
| Crews           | 26     | 15   | 6       | 0    | 1360 | 211 | 60  |
| Binckroot       | 27     | 13   | 11      | 5    | 41   | 240 | 40  |
| Notts Cuunty    | 25     | 13   | B       | 4    | :36  | 19  | 47  |
| Chestorfield    | 26     | 12   | 7       | (1)  | 39   | 27  | 43  |
| Brauford        | 20     | 12   | 6       | 12   | :49  | 46  | 41  |
|                 | -      | 4 .  | -       |      |      |     | 4.4 |

|   | ARACOUNTRO            | 20    | .1    | 1    |      | -33  | 3U | 1 |
|---|-----------------------|-------|-------|------|------|------|----|---|
|   | Buildey               | 27    | 10    | H    | 0    | 39   | 35 |   |
|   | Bournemouth           | . H   | 11    | 5    | 12   | 35   | 42 |   |
|   | Oxford Utd            | 27    | 10    | 85   | 9    | 34   | 27 |   |
|   | Western               | 26    | 3     | 13   | 5    | 37   | 29 | ì |
| • | W. dr.W               | 26    | -9    | 9    | A    | 28   | 20 |   |
|   | Bedlauban             | 28    | Ð     | B    | 11   | 35   | 41 |   |
| 8 | Bristol City          | 1:38  | 8     | 10   | 10   | 28   | 37 |   |
| 0 | Paterberough          | 29.   | 7     | 19   | 10   | 36   |    |   |
| 1 | Brentford             | 27    | 21    | E.   | 13   | 24   | 33 |   |
| 8 | Carlisle              | 28    | 6     | 10   | 12   | 34   | 43 |   |
| 5 | York.                 | 25    | 7     | - 5  | 13   | 29   | 41 |   |
| 2 | Brighton              | 28    |       | 7    | 15   | 26   | 43 |   |
| 1 | Swannga               | . 15  | €,    | 13   | 1-1  | 23   | 40 |   |
| 1 | 14/1                  | 27    |       | 10   | 15   |      | 47 |   |
| 0 |                       |       |       |      |      |      |    |   |
| 0 | Third Divisio         | n: Co | lcha: | Sier | 1, W | igan | 2: |   |
| 9 | Doncaster 0, B        |       |       |      |      |      |    | 2 |
| 8 | Gdingham 2, 1         |       |       |      |      |      |    | Ī |
| _ | Contract the state of |       |       |      |      |      |    |   |

|   |                | P   | W    | D   | L   | F  | A Ph  |
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| 1 | Gillingham     | 28  | 16   | 6   |     | 37 | 10 88 |
| 1 | Presion        | 28  | 13   | 12  | 3   | 54 | 25 61 |
| ı | Chester        | 27  | 12   | В   | 7   | 48 | 35 44 |
|   | Darlington     | 28  | 11   | 10  | 7   | 32 | 27 43 |
|   | Plymouth       | 29  | 11   | 9   | 9   | 48 | 36 42 |
| 1 | Colchaster     | 29  | 10   | 12  | 7   | 40 | 35 41 |
| 1 | Doncaster      | 28  | 12   | 6   | 10  |    | 37 42 |
|   | Wigan          | 273 | 11   | 8   | 9   |    | 34 41 |
|   | Horthampton    | 8   | 10   | 9   | 7   | 30 | 28 39 |
|   | Bury           | 26  | 10   | 9   | 7   |    | 31 39 |
|   | Barnet         | 20  | H    | 13  | М   | 30 | 33 37 |
|   | Scuntherpa     | 27  | 1    | 9   | 9   | 40 | 34 38 |
|   | Cambridge that | 27  | 11   | 7   | 11  | 40 | 45 34 |
|   | Rechilate      | . 7 | 5.9  | 7   | 11  | 36 | 33 84 |
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|   | E-elei         | 28  | - 7  | 13  | 5   |    | 31 34 |
|   | Cardill        | 28  | H    | 6   | 12  |    | 36 32 |
|   | Heroford       | 24  | 7    | 10  | 7   |    | 30 31 |
|   | Marcheld       | 28  | - 11 | 13  | 9   |    | 16 31 |
|   | Scarborough    | 29  |      | 1.1 | 10  |    | 38 31 |
|   | Hartlepoul     | 27  | 7    | 10  | 10  | 29 | 39 31 |
|   | I am turbo     |     |      |     | 1.1 | 16 | 30 38 |

ELL'S SCOTTISH LEAGUE: Premier Mistori Falkuk, O. Callic, O. Elisats 1, wariism S. Partick O. Karvarrieck 1; Bulh I. Larriem O. Françico, S. Molfarwell 2

|              | P     | W  | D   | L  | P  | A  |
|--------------|-------|----|-----|----|----|----|
| l full ques  | 26    | 19 | 5   | 27 | 60 | 16 |
| Caulin.      | 2'43  | 17 | В   | 1  | 45 | 19 |
| Abordouri    | 25    | 12 | 4   | 54 | 38 | 28 |
| 1-berrta     | 26    | 11 | 4   | 11 | 40 | 40 |
| Hitauraton   | 20    | 9  | ō   | 11 | 34 | 13 |
| Rath         | 253   | 9  | 5   | 12 | 26 | 38 |
| halitanina.h | 20    | 8  | 6   | 12 | 32 | 41 |
| Falklik      | 26    | 0  | 5   | 15 | 23 | 39 |
| Partick.     | 26,   | 61 | 5   | 15 | 18 | 37 |
| A Coat       | -0.00 | 1. | *** | 10 | 10 | 31 |

First Division: Airthe 1, Dunfermins 2. Clycluburk 1, St March 2. Loading poli-tions: 1, Dunfey Up 1 (26-46); 2, Greens Morton (\*3-46); 3, Dunfermillor (22-44).

### **HIV scare for Lewis**

ENNOX LEWIS, the former World Boxing Council heavy-weight champion, has been advised to take an Aids test after hearing that Tommy Morrison, whom he beat last October, has tested HIV

oter Panos Eliades, who handles Lewis's affairs, said: "We'd better get our man tested. There was a lot of blood in that fight." Most of it was spilled by Morrison. but Lewis's manager Frank Maloney efused to over-react.

Morrison, who was suspended efore a bout last Saturday, said: "I inderstand that there are several people concerned about me. I am fine. I feel it would be selfish to ask you to say a prayer for me."

The promoter Tony Holden said: "We were advised of the results before the fight by Marc Ratner, head OFF GO TO REFERENCE U of the Nevada Athletic Commission.

TRYING VEBITIGES We tracked down Tommy and told David Sharrock in Belfast

organised in Belfast by trade unions last Friday, and the Irish . foreign minister, Dick Spring, launched a white ribbon campaign in Dublin. Some 25,000 were distributed in Paris at last weekend's rugby international between Ireland and France.

Tens of thousands of people. rang a "peace hotline" set up by three daily and two Sunday newspapers to register their op-position to violence. And Gavin

and Margaret Walker, a Northern Ireland couple from Bangor, Co Down, distributed to politicians the 100,000 letters and cards opposing violence which they had been sent in the space of a week.

Mr Spring said the white rib-bons — similar in design to the green ribbons worn by Irish republicans seeking the release of their prisoners - were made

available at post offices and other public buildings through-

"Last Friday was one of the darkest days we have bad for a long, long time," he said. "The vast majority of people on this is land, north and south, want peace, and they want to get back to the peace they had . . . "White is the colour of peace.

ribbons to people thronging Grafton Street, Dublin's premier shopping area.

broadcasting network observed a minute's silence at 12.30pm to coincide with the peace ralin towns and cities across

Spanish rally, page 4

# TheGuardian

Val 154, No 8 Week ending February 25, 1996

# Weekly wheding him strate the Africante

### Bomb on bus rips Irish dreams apart

#### **Quardian Reporters**

WO IRA men who blew themselves up on their way to bomb a high-profile central London target could have been responsible for the Docklands bombing 10 days ago, police sources said this week.

One of the bombers died at the scene of the bus bomb in the Aldwych on Sunday evening. The surviving suspect was under armed guard in hospital on Tuesday as detectives waited to interview him.

Police sources in Dublin said that the injured man was aged 26 and came from the Finglas area of the city. The dead man is believed to have come from Co Tyrone, A 9mm automatic pistol was found at the

Anti-terrorist branch officers carried out two arrests in south London under the Prevention of Terrorism Act on Monday as the hunt for those responsible for the new wave of bombings in London intensified. There were also security alerts nationally because the traditional IRA response to an "own goal" is to carry out another attack shortly afterwards to demonstrate its continuing capability.

Sunday night's blast was the sec-ond incident in London within three days, raising fresh fears of a return to a full-scale campaign of terrorist violence on the mainland.

On Thursday last week police made safe an IRA device believed to contain 5kg of Semtex explosives which had been left in a telephone booth a kilometre from Sunday's explosion. On February 9 two people were killed in the Docklands blast,

The IRA claimed responsibility ment added: "We regret the loss of

The Sinn Fein president, Gerry Adams, said on Monday that the peace process was over and would now have to be rebuilt. There was no way back from the abyss except through dialogue. "It means a lot of reinstated, while other senior Sinn the City at that time of night as any

The Irish foreign minister, Dick

Spring, admitted on Monday that the peace process was in "severe difficulties". However, Irish government officials were thought to have met Sinn Fein at a secret venue in their second face-to-face talks since the end of the IRA ceasefire. John Bruton, the Irish prime minister, has banned top-level contacts until the ceasefire is restored.

John Major held a series of "stock-taking" meetings in Downing Street and on Monday night spoke for 30 minutes by phone to Mr Bruton, whom he hopes to meet next week. George Mitchell, the former US senator who headed a commission on trish peace, was due in ondon for talks this week, though officials insisted his visit was primarily linked to his role as chairman of the International Crisis Group monitoring the Bosnian accords.

Fears that loyalist paramilitaries could retaliate for the IRA's renewed bombing campalgn mounted with news that their leaders were meeting in secret on Tuesday to decide on a response.

Only a few hours before Sunday evening's bomb, Mr Adams told republican rally in west Belfast tha he was "extending the hand of friendship" to Mr Major and unionists. "We say to John Major, 'Pul back from the abyss, we want to talk and we want peace but we must have justice and we must have freedom and we must be treated as

The chill response from the Democratic Unionist deputy leader, Peter Robinson, to that offer following the latest London explosion was for Sunday's bomb in a call to the BBC in Belfast. The coded state out the United Kingdom will now see what is in Adams's hand when he stretches it out and calls for the prime minister to grasp it. It shows that the IRA are not interested in

Earlier. Mr Adams said it was not



The twisted wreckage of the double-decker bus which was blown up by the IRA in central London on Sunday

Fein figures indicated over the weekend that only the setting of a date for all-party talks by Mr Major would see a return to the ceasefire.

Sunday's bus bomb, which was a home-made device and not constructed of army materials, went off prematurely as the double-decker bus reached the Aldwych on its way from Catford in south-east London The next stop on the bus route

would have been outside the Royal Courts of Justice, which houses the Court of Appeal and might have been the IRA's intended target. It seems unlikely that the men would

couple carrying a holdail would have been subject to a search. Commander John Grieve, head of the anti-terrorist branch, said that what had happened "did not match the normal pattern of events" and the conclusion was that the bomb

had gone off in error. Meanwhile an anonymous group has offered a reward of £1 million for information leading to the arrest of the IRA bombers responsible for

the Docklands explosion. Police also carried out more than 30 raids throughout the country last week. A number of people were arrested. Some were later released.

Martin Woollacott, page 12

Dissident Iraqi

Christians on trial

Bangladesh hit by graft and rivalry

Oil spill disaster on the Welsh coast

Scots poised to win Grand Slam

| 1              |         |              |         |  |
|----------------|---------|--------------|---------|--|
| vistria        | A630    | Maita        | 46c     |  |
| Belgium        | BF76    | Netherlands  | G 4.75  |  |
| )enmark        | DK18    |              | NK 18   |  |
| Inland         | FM 10   |              | E300    |  |
| TENCO          | FF 13   | Sauci Arabia | SR 6.60 |  |
| <b>Jermany</b> | DM 4    | Spain        | P 300   |  |
| 3reeçe         | DR 400  | Sweden       | SK 19   |  |
| av             | L 3,000 | Switzerland  | SF 3.30 |  |

Agross

Models without work — such shapeless lumpsi (7) 5 Leaves quietly in chains maybe

10 Game that's exclusively for males (4)

11 Bear with the little page putting on weight (10) 12 Sanctimonious, yet

almost making a bit of a bloomer (6)

13 Day's end -- flat time (8) 14 Bore takes part free possibly.

There's nothing in that (9)

16 Forays made by Roundhead

auxiliaries (5)

leading light in the cinema world (9)

barely used? (8) points are put (6)

27 Off a track (4) 28 A little meagre, yes -- that's

26 Grant horse needs exercising, but not over a long distance

most depressing (7) 29 Broadcast by drunken outside right (7)

17 Project to cause confusion (5) 19 The woman responsible for a

23 Bed-sit by the Avon which is 24 Call for more heart after certain

Last week's solution

COALFACE OBJECT OTAHUVOO

OTAHUVOO

OTAHUVOO

MEALTREE STRING

PLBSSCTLA

RULEOPTHREE

OOEORS

MORES ROOTCAUSE

I BAFKVCA

SHELLLIKE POKER

E R T E D I B

him. His reaction was shock and disbelief. But it's a shock to all of us Tommy appeared to be in period health. His conditioning was great

and there were no signs of anything "He was tested in Las Vegas it fore the fight against George Fort

> Morrison, a former World Both Organisation champion, had one test in Las Vegas last week the results were checked twice. St urday's bout, against Arthur West ers, would have been Morrison first since he was stopped in

sixth round by Lewis. Lewis is in Jamaica but his are fight, against the former Williams the fight, against the former Williams the fight of the fight confirmed for New York's Madket Square Garden on May 10. It will be the former WBC champion's for outing since he lost his title and the beaten record to Oliver McCul 12 September 1994.

Ireland says peace with rallies and ribbons

↑ PEOPLE'S campaign in Ire-\land against a return to violence caught fire last week with a series of big events on both sides of the border which brought tens of thousands on to the streets. A huge demonstration was

out the south.

We have to show our frustration at the way peace has been ripped apart . . . There are people out there who still feel that they can resort to violence, and that they claim to speak on behalf of the

Irish nation or the Irish people. That is so far removed from reality and the truth, and they should be sent a very strong message. Later, Mr Spring handed out

> All television and radio channels operated by Ireland's RTE

lies. A string of demonstrations Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic were organised by the Irish Congress of Trade Unions.

**UK** ministers face pressure to step down

#### Patrick Wintour and Richard Norton-Taylor

RESSURE on William Waldegrave, Chief Secretary to the Treasury, and Sir Nicholas Lyell, the Attorney General, to resign in the wake of the Scott report into the arms-to-Iraq scandal mounted this week as Labour and Liberal Democrats signalled their determination to force the issue in the run-up to the Commons vote on Monday.

The Prime Minister insists that Sir Richard Scott's investigation had "comprehensively dismissed" the most serious allegations against senior ministers.

However, a small group of Tory MPs were privately expressing uncase at the ferocity of the report's criticism, including the finding that Sir Nicholas was culpable.

One Tory backbencher, knock Allason, said the criticisms of Sir Nicholas were trenchant. Sir Teddy Taylor called on the Government to ake them more seriously, and Peter Thurnham, the Conservative MP or Bolton North East, has threatened to resign the Tory whip over

The report will be just to a Commons vote on Monday, at which the votes of the nine Ulster Unionist MPs may prove critical, but the ninisters resign, Labour will still benefit, pointing out that a tele-phone poll last week showed overwhelming support for resignations.

In the wake of the Scott report, which marked the culmination of a three-year investigation, Mr Major promised some low-key changes, ncluding better dissemination o ntelligence information.

Scott report, pages 10-11

opts to return

Nigerians put

The people of London are not prepared to carry the burden of unionst intransigence any longer. The British government, under pressure from the unionists, has spent the last 18 months throwing up obstacle after obstacle to serious negotiations over Northern Ireland.

The reason is equally obvious; any negotiations must involve compromise, and that means some weakening of unionist power. The unionists are not prepared to cede an inch, and have successfully blackmailed the Government into playing their game.

We owe the bigots of Northern Ireland nothing and it's time we got rid of this expensive colony, just like we've got rid of dozens of others in the past 30 years.

THE predictable debacle of the Dockland's bomb has its origins in two massive pieces of misjudgment. The first was by IRA/Sinn Fein in not making at least a tiny concession in the decommissioni process. They could have re-armed without the slightest dificulty.

The second error of judgment was by the British government in not accepting the main findings of the Mitchell Commission in relation to decommissioning. It was a respected and independent body and there seems little point in setting up such machinery and then ditching it if you don't like the findings.

The next step is for both sides to publicly accept that they got i wrong and take appropriate steps to lemonstrate that they can get it

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Y HOUSE was rocked by the bomb in London's Docklands. right, Everyone makes mistakes but not everyone has the courage (or not everyone has the courage (or humility) to admit it. (Dr) Ewan McLeish, Marlow, Bucks

> E ARE constantly being told that the "democratic process" is the best way, the only way, to re-solve conflict. That being so, why cannot the people of Ireland (the whole of Ireland) decide the future of their country? Is not the exis-tence of Northern Ireland a denial of democracy? D M Gough,

outhbourne, Bournemouth

OURIOUSLY, the Government has endorsed talks with others formerly considered terrorists, and even war crime suspects, in the former Yugoslavia and in Palestine: peace at any price is worth the risk, we were told. Sadly, it seems that on Ireland the British concern has been to save face and parliamentary seats rather than lives. Felicity Arbuthnot,

IN THE interest of realpolitik the loyalist community must either in tegrate with a united Ireland, or leave. Britain gave these stark choices to sizeable British communities in Kenya and Zimbabwe where in neither case did the threatened "rivers of blood" materialise. Denis Hetherington,

O PROGRESS will be made so long as the IRA are treated as

数 ...

6 months

.£26.50

.£28.00.

£30.50

sub-human terrorists rather than freedom fighters. They see themselves as an army of liberation, and an army loses face if it gives in or hands over its weapons; it might, however, be willing to talk terms. Like Hong Kong, the province cannot remain a crown colony for ever.

OVER 50 years ago, I spent a year and a half in the remoter parts of Northern Ireland. The quote I heard then is just as apt today: "Anyone who has a solution to the Irish Question is not in pos session of all the facts." John Wightman. Tauranga, New Zealand

### The wages packet

T SEEMS that Mr Adair Turner of CBI has realised the obvious, that an economy based on mass production cannot survive without the symbiotic capacity for mass consumption, and this means rising real wages (The Week in Britain, February 4). However, having reduced organised labour to rubble as a consequence of breaking the wage price spiral, how does Mr Turner envisage the imple-mentation of this policy of increasing real wages? In a competitive business environment, which companies can afford to unilaterally add to their cost base in the interest of the economy's greater good?

However, there is an exception to the trend of declining real wages. Perhaps Mr Turner believes that soaring compensation packages for company directors will overtake the declines of other groups of wage

Robert Michael Dummer Ostrava Pustkovec, Czech Republic

COR THE past few months or so Will Hutton has been bracketing an unconventional concept with the welcome salvoes of his insightful economic comment. But now, at last, the words have actually been written (though not by Will) that are central to our current economic dilemma: "Employers have a self-interest in ensuring that real wages rise over time because it creates extra purchasing power to buy their products". You would think so, wouldn't you?

Broadly speaking, the economic petrol tank has two compartments: the consumer and government. Efforts at debt and deficit reduction, coupled with shrinking tax revenues, are significantly eroding government purchasing power and thus government's ability (or willingness) to contribute to the fuelling of the economic engine. Consumer purchasing power and thus consumer contribution to fuelling the economic engine continues to spiral downward as a result of the often mindless application of monetarist theory in the

dustrial competitiveness. We have seen, in the past decade, the inexorable rise of intractable unemployment, real wage decline and an era of job insecurity familiar only to that ageing and shrinking sector of the population which remembers

the Great Depression: As long as assumptions are accepted and policies are in place that limit consumer purchasing power, it's futile to whinge on about the faltering economic recovery. If there were a whisper of originality and in-

sight residing in the corporate brain. industry would be hummering o government's door to legislate healthy minimum wage. Wouldn't that be a turn-up for the books? Michael J Reynolds Toronto, Canada

### Sorting Tony's peer group

OME hereditary peers argue Othat although they are not against losing their right to sit in the House of Lords, they would vote against a Labour government's bill to implement this because they do not approve of the system that might replace them (Hereditary peers "to lose Lords vote", February 18). By what convoluted logic would they vote to oppose the wishes of an elected government when they believe that they should not be in a position to do so in the first place? D H Kedge. Nr Reading, Berks

I EREDITARY peers are, according to Tony Blair, the least defensible part of the British constitution". Not so: if a hereditary peerage cannot be defended, then n hereditary head of state is even less defensible David Morrison,

**∧ / OTHING** has been said about / V the embarrassing presence of the bench of bishops in the House of lords. This group are a nominated ninority of a minority of the people of Britain, yet they are entitled by law to a voice and votes in the upper house. If Tony Blair is really intent on cleaning up our parliamentary system he will have to throw these relics of a bygone age out with all the other backwoodsmen. Terry Mullins,

National Secular Society

### **Volunteers** with a view

FELT that Mr Bal's description of teachers who work in developing countries as "selfless missionaries" who work for little more than a pat on the back and a story to tell their grandchildren as patronising to say the least (Job hunting in the black-board jungle, January 28). Also, the assumption that only newly quali-fied and TEFL teachers would work in such places is not based on fact.

I am a volunteer teacher working under the auspices of VSO in Kenya. I have three years' teaching experience in London and North Yorkshire, one of these as head of year. Many of my colleagues in VSO are equally, if not more, qualified. We are working to help share skills with people in poorer countries th

At a time when our government has decided to slash the ODA's budget and leave a huge deficit in aid overseas, it is now even more important that professionals opt to work in developing countries with organisations like VSO.

If we are to see a more equitable world, then aid work must be seen by the Western world as professionals striving for this, not as "do-gooders" looking for a pat on the back.

Fi bruttry 25 1998 Briefly

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

MARTIN WALKER'S comments are insightful and painfully accurate. As we Americans plough through the process of choosing candidates for the presidency, it's good to know that there's at least one observer we can count on. Nicholas Ahlfs, Bainbridge Island, Washington, USA

THE NAME "Eurouble" for the new European currency would show both the planned future of Europe, and the future of the currency. Denis Browy

DEREK BROWN (Triumphant Arafat gets poll warning, January 28) seems to have omitted certain details of the Palestinian election results, particularly sex-segregated data on voter participation. Or is it possible the success of the three women candidates was due not to the "unexpectedly strong contribution of female voters", but the sup port of Palestinian women and mer who east their votes not according to gender but according to capability? Ochoruh Chaba, Matagalpa, Nicaragua

THE CENTRAL point of Edward Goldsmith's letter (February 11) is not clear. Does he consider the reedom to reproduce at will to be one of the "irreplaceable services provided for free by the natural fancsioning of normal human families? Or is it his view that the expected billion increase in the population over the next decade is one of the "ever more pressing problems of today"? One of the least helpful dogmas is that the population can in crease at its current rate without adversely influencing "the natural functioning of ecological systems". (Dr) M N Foggo, Lower Hutt, New Zealand

NIGERIANS not convicted of any crime are kept in such inhuman conditions that even the internal affairs minister admits something is wrong (Innocent left to rot in Nige ria's jails, February 18). It's a good job Nigeria didn't end up on Michael Ioward's "white list". We will no doubt be welcoming our Nigerian brothers and sisters with open arms when they apply for asylum. (Rev) Stephen Heap,

Bloomsbury Central Baptist Church

DESPITE the headline above Martin Woollacott's article (February 11) the world has not grown to "love the Bomb". People eel confused, pathetic, ridiculous. Only journalists can take the serent Overview Wayne Hall.

### **The Guardian**

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**INTERNATIONAL NEWS** 3



Deadly school . . . Admiral Leighton Smith holds a sulper rifle found at a Bosnian camp where Iranians

### Serb general snubs Nato

Julian Borger in Sarajevo

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

HE Bosnian Serbs snubbed Nato on Monday by failing to turn up for a military meeting on board a United States aircraft carrier in the Adriatic.

The non-appearance of General Zdravko Tolimir, deputy commander of the separatist Serb army, cast doubt on whether Sunday's Balkan summit in Rome had succeeded in patching the cracks in the peace

Later, Nato announced that it commander of ground forces in Bosnia, Lieutenant-General Sir Michael Walker, had accepted Gen Tolimir's invitation to meet him at the Bosnian Serb headquarters in Pale on Tuesday.

Monday's meeting of the joint military commission was the first test of the Rome summit, at which Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian leadera promised to stick to last year's

But a Nato aircraft waited much of the day in vain at Sarajevo airport to fly Gen Tolimir to the USS

ders and officers of the Nato-led molementation force (I-For), on the implementation of the troubled neace accord.

The meeting, attended by Sir Michael and the Nato commander for Bosnia, Admiral Leighton Smith, went ahead without him. In Rome the Serbian president,

Slobodan Milosevic, won a promise that the US would agree to the suspension of United Nations sanctions against Serbia, contingent on the osnian Serbs' behaviour. The Bosnian Serbs cut off high-

level contacts with Nato earlier this month after the arrest and extradition to The Hague war crimes trihunal of two of their officers. President Milosevic promised that the Serbs would return to the

negotiating table immediately. Gen Tolimir's non-appearance would appear to be a challenge to the Serbian leader's authority.

Nato said it had received no

explanation from the Bosnian Serbs. Nato refuses to deal with Gen Tolimir's commander, General Ratko Mladic, who has been in-George Washington for a meeting dicted for war crimes but is believed with Bosnian and Croatian commanto be still in command of the army.

summit, a Muslim-Croat agreement on the partitioned city of Mostar. will be tested this week. Bosnian Croats in Mostar vio-

ently rejected a European Union plan to reintegrate the Muslim and Croat parts of the city centre, attacking a car carrying the EU adminis-trator, Hans Koschnick.

In Rome, Bosnia's Muslim-led government agreed that a smaller sector of Mostar than envisaged by the Koschnick plan would be run ointly, in return for the removal of all Croat checkpoints dividing the city. The settlement is to be policed by 100 Bosnian policemen and 100 policemen from Croatia, in a joint

> Bosnia's president, Alija Izetbegovic, hailed the agreement as a victory of reason over extremism.

force supervised by European po-

But the Muslim mayor of east Mostar, Safet Orucevic, offered his resignation to Mr Izetbegovic on Monday. "My resignation is my personal attitude since I thought no changes [in the Mostar plan] ahould have been made," Mr Oruce-

### Nato troops

### raid Bosnian 'terror camp'

ATO troops last week raided a clandestine training camp near Sarajevo where Iranians are suspected of having taught Bosnian secret policemen how to rig boobytraps and carry out assassinations, according to Nato officials, writes Julian Borger in Sarajevo.

Three Iranian Instructors were

arrested at the camp. Their presence was a violation of the Dayton peace agreement. Nato troops also captured eight Bosnians heading towards the camp. One of the Iranians was later released when he was found to have a diplomatic passport. The other two had Iranian military identity papers.

Admiral Leighton Smith, com-mander of the Nato-led Implementation Force (I-For) which is policing the Bosnia peace settlement, said "No one can escape the obvious that this is a terrorist training activity going on in this building and it has direct association with people in the government."

The 10 suspects being held were released after the Bosnian govern ment pledged that they would be dealt with under its criminal law, a Nato statement said. It is difficult to see what charges they will face the Bosnian government insists that the camp was a legitimate interior ministry school for intelligence agents, which was in the process of being shut down. -

The training centre was in an isolated ski chalet just outside Fojnica. Nato officers showed journalists evidence that members of the Bosnian state security service were taught how to booby-trap toys and other household items. Journalists saw shampoo bottles with explosives inside, and a number of bombs made from toys with radio-controlled detonators

In a separate raid, French Nato soldiers surrounded two suspected Serb anipers in the Sarajevo suburb of Ilidza, and Serb police took them away for questioning.

### China faces a severe grain crisis

John Gittings

**B**EIJING is becoming seriously alarmed by the prospect of severe grain shortages which could lead to food riots in urban areas, says a leading expert on the environment.

The need for huge grain imports will also complicate China's relations with the United States.

On the eve of the Chinese New Year festival, the state planning commission warned that rising food prices will provoke "a strong reaction from the masses". Provincial covernors are being asked to take personal responsibility for efforts to oost grain production.

Food shortages will be "politically lestabilising when people feel trapped by rising prices", argues Lester Brown, president of the USbased Worldwatch Institute.

Mr Brown says that China's need for grain imports will increase its dependence upon the US - which dominates the world market — in spite of disagreements over Taiwan or trade. This is causing real concern to the Chinese leadership.

US department of agriculture figures show that maize prices in China are already higher than average world levels, further increasing the demand for imports.

China previously rejected Mr Brown's argument that the economic boom is driving up food consumption but also reducing the area of land for cultivation. Consumption of meat, the production of which requires large inputs of grain, has in-creased fivefold in 16 years.

Meanwhile, China's grain area nas dropped by more than 5 per cent n four years, while population has grown by nearly the same amount.

Grain production is now levelling off in China well below population growth. It is also hindered by water shortages. Critics say China should seek to impose tight control on water use, and tax the conversion of

#### Defector decides to return to Baghdad Kohl calms Yeltsin's ire

lan Traynor in Bonn

C HANCELLOR Helmut Kohl of Germany retreated on Monday from Nato's expansion into former communist central Europe, going some way to appease fierce Russian objections to the proposed enlarge-

After several hours of talks in Moscow with President Boris Yeltain. Mr Kohl ruled out any policy that would imperil relations between Bonn and Moscow, aware for Nato to admit former Warsaw Pact members such as Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic.

Eager to demonstrate his support! nouncing he would stand.

"I will not carry out any policy that could put the new, friendly, partner-like relations between Russia and Germany under threat," Mr Kohl said.

He reiterated the standard Western line that Moscow cannot exercise a veto over countries which

choose to join the alliance and said Russia could not interfere in central European decisions on military and security alignment.

But Mr Kohl's remarks emphasised the recent shift away from a rapid Nato expansion and they are certain to alarm the central Europeans, who increasingly sense a more half-hearted Western commitment to their Nato membership

Mr Kohl is trying to keep the Nato issue out of the Russian electhat Russia's biggest bone of contention with the West is the scheme if the nationalists and communists fighting Mr Yeltsin. But earlier this month Mr Kohl

also told the Americans to keep the Nato expansion issue out of the batfor Mr Yeltsin in the run-up to the tie for the White House, remarks Russian presidential election in that may not have endeared him to June, Mr Kohl went to Moscow many in Washington. The chancelwithin days of the Russian leader an- lor is also under fire at home for so emphatically showing his support for the embattled Russian leader.

... The Germans spearheaded the recent lobbying for Russia's admission to the Council of Europe, despite its questionable human rights record.

Washington Post, page 13

Jamal Halaby in Amman

A N IRAQI general who de-fected vowing to topple Saddam Hussein said on Monday that the Iraql leader had "welcomed" his request to return from exile in Jordan.

"I'll be returning to Iraq with my wife and my children, hopefully within days," Lieutenant-General Hussein Kamel al-Majid

Gen Majid, whose defection to Jordan last August was a serious blow to President Saddam's touch with the Iraqi leadership through middlemen". The general, President

Saddam's son-in-law and a key figure in secret Iraqi weapons programmes, said he had recently written to the president asking to be allowed to return. He said he did not place any

onditions on his return and leclined to say if President saddam had forgiven him for his defection, which severely embarrassed the Iraqi leader.

Gen Majid's change of mind followed his rejection by Iraqi

opposition groups. They consider that, as a key member of President Saddam's hierarchy for many years, he has too much blood on his hands to be accept-

He said his wife Raghad -President Saddam's eldest daughter and once his favourite - and their children would return with him. Their return will boost the

Iraqi leader's reputation and could help his regime as it negotiates with the UN for limited oil sales to buy food and medicine. The general fled to Joro

with his brother, Colonel Saddam Kamel, deputy head of President Saddam's bodyguard, and their wives. Col Kamel is married to another of President Saddam's daughters.

One of Gen Majid's aides said Col Kamel and other relatives had deserted him since learning he was seeking to return to Irau. He had had a nervous breakdown because of the pressures and growing isolation.

The defectors were granted

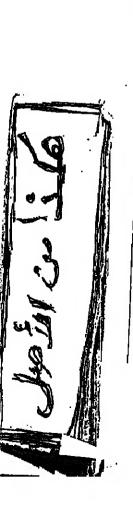
asylum in Jordan and embraced by King Hussein to cap his efforts to distance himself from his former Iraqi ally.

Gen Maiid's apparent repentance may not be too much of a setback for King Hussein. He seems to have been keeping the lragi defector at arm's length

The general fell out with King Hussein in November over the king's suggestion for a federation of Kurds, Sunni and Shi'ite Muslims in a post-Saddam Iraq. Gen Majid insisted that it would accelerate the dismemberment of Iraq.

Two wer between Iraqi and United Nations negotiators ended on Monday with the chief UN negotiator Hans Corell saving he was not prepared to recommend allowing Iraq to resume oil

An agreement could not be reached because Iraq continued to demand the transfer to a UNadministered account of 84 billion in foreign assets frozen after it invaded Kuwait in 1990. sources said. Mr Corell said the talks were complicated by technical issues. —AP



#### In Brief

USLIM militants are suspected of having planted two car bombs in the Algerian capital, Algiers, which killed 12 people and wounded 32. And they have told Aigeria's oil and gas workers to stop work or they will send hit squads to murder them. singling out the country's main export-earner for the first time.

REARLY 60 people were killed and many more injured by an ammunition dump blast in the presidential palace in Kabul.

SRAEL has approved the return of 154 members of the Palestine National Council to Palestinian-ruled areas, including Layla Khaled, who was arrested in London in 1970 for hijacking an Israeli El Al airplane.

HE FRENCH army is to be almost halved under a plan put forward by President Chirac. His military planners have recommended scrapping the main French input to the Eurocorps and sharply reducing the military presence in Africa.

HE Russian commander in Chechenia, General Tikhomirov, was quoted as saying that his forces had killed up to 170 Chechens in the battle for the village of Novogroznensky and lost 30 of their own troops.

PROSPECTS for speedy progress on signing a nuclear test ban treaty suffered a serious blow when India insisted at talks in Geneva that it would stand by its demand for parallel talks on disarmament by the five auclear nowers.

N a move to restrict import of TV programmes made in the US, the European Parliament voted to impose advertising restrictions on television and quo tas on shows produced outside the European Union.

HE PRETORIA aupreme court ordered a predominantly Afrikaans school to allow black pupils into classes in South Africa's first legal test of the principle of non-racialism embodied in the constitution

USTRALIA'S conservative opposition unveiled \$A1 billion (\$775 million) worth of tax breaks to woo the family vote before the election on March 2.

A STAGGERING 39 per cent of black Californian men in their 20s were in prison, held on remand or on probation last year, according to a new study. The rate for young Latino males was 1 in 10 and for whites 1 in 20.

ARTIN BALSAM, who appeared in nearly 50 films, including Twelve Angry Men, Psycho and Catch-22, has died, aged 76. Balsam won an Oscar as Best Supporting Actor in A Thousand Clowns.

### Nigeria puts Christians on trial

Chris McGreal in Bauchi

TXTY Nigerians accused of in-Sciting a religious war in which many of them lost their wives and children are facing a mass trial and condemnation by a special tribunal modelled on the kangaroo court that sent the Ogoni activist Ken Saro-Wiwa to the

Military prosecutors accuse the 60 members of the minority Sayawa Christian community in Nigeria's overwhelmingly Muslim Bauchi state of provoking religious clashes in which hundreds died last July.

But defence lawyers this week will ask the high court to dismiss the charges as religious persecu-tion. They say that while Christians accounted for most of the victims. they are the only ones facing the

The seeds of the Bauchi killings lie in Nigeria's long history of religious friction and a campaign by the

Adela Qooch in Madrid

ORE THAN half a million peo-ple marched in allence

through the streets of central Madrid on Monday to protest

against a campaign of violence by

Basque separatists. The prime min-ister, Felipe González, carried a ban-

A former president of Spain's con-

stitutional court and champion of

democratic rights, Francisco Tomás

Valiente, was shot dead last week

by a suspected member of the

Basque separatist group ETA in his

Tomás y Vallente, aged 63, pro-

and Iran, for fear of a full-blown

learned.

ner with opposition politicians.

office at Madrid university.

In 1993, after earlier fighting, the central government promised the Sayawas their own chiefs, but churches and mosques burnt. Bauchi state officials blocked the plan. Prominent among them was Ibrahim Musa, a Muslim who wrote a memo describing the Sayawa as a 'conquered people'

Last year when Mr Musa was appointed a Bauchi minister he decided to celebrate with what the Sayawa believe was a deliberate provocation. He ordered them to organise a congratulatory reception for him and neighbouring Muslim communities, and to pay for it.

The day before the planned reception, Sayawa elders met and told the authorities that Mr Musa was not welcome. The following morning angry Sayawas blocked roads, keeping out thousands of Muslims arriving for the ceremony, and Mr Musa had to call it off.

Witnesses say the fighting began Sayawa community to break free with stone throwing. A week later

Spain shocked at killing by separatists

known member of ETA's Madrid

unit — burst in, shot him three times

in the head and then fled, threaten-

ing students with his gun. "Every-

hing points to ETA, the type of

cartridges and the way it was done."

The attack, which paralysed the

official launch of Spain's election

ampaign, comes a week after a

prominent Socialist politician, Fer-

ando Múgica, was shot dead in the

Both men were close to the prime

Many institutions declared official

the proposed law will lead to a rift

between the US and the European Union, with Britain squeezed be-

"We are very worried by the dam-

Basque city of San Sebastián.

ninister, Felipe González.

fessor of legal history, was on the mourning for a man who had worked

BRITAIN is waging a desperate diplomatic campaign to persuade the United States Congress to drop plans for sanctions against for eign companies trading with Libya against Libya. This is a disaster in the making, one official said.

transatiantic row if the legislation age it could do to our bilateral goes ahead, the Guardian has relationship," a US diplomat said.

Foreign Office officials warn that a collision."

Britain tries to halt US sanctions bill

an interior ministry official said.

telephone when his assassin — In harmony with the Socialist Party, identified by onlookers as a well yet who maintained his indepen-

dence and was widely respected.

"He was a symbol of our democ-

racy and this attack can only be

seen as an assault on our constitu-

tion," said Diego Lopez Garrido, an MP for the United Loft and a friend.

The prime minister expressed "rage and anger", asking Spaniards

"to remain calm so that we can de-

The interior ministry claimed the

attack had been carried out by Jon

Bienzobar Arreche. If so, it was an

act of particular bravado because

his photo has been on wanted

posters that recently went on dis-

The US legislation aims to punish

Iran for allegedly supporting terror-ism and developing nuclear

weapons, and to pressure Libys into handing over two intelligence offi-

cers accused of the Lockerbie

It is expected to be passed within

weeks unless British lobbying, or

chestrated from the highest levels

of the Foreign Office, is successful.

Prospects are said to be poor.

bombing in 1988.

feat this band of lunatics".

play around the country.

from the Hausa-Fulani Islamic ad-ministration. hundreds of people had been hacked, shot and burnt to death. Thirty-eight villages were destroyed, about 1,500 homes wrecked and

The Sayawa community says it knows of at least 146 Christians killed, although more are missing. The dead include 17 children hacked to pieces in school, and 36 people murdered in a church.

No figure has been given for Muslim deaths but the state said all but seven of the villages destroyed were Christian, which suggests they account for most of the victims. Yet state officials are portraying the Sayawas as the sole villains.

Five days after the killings, Bauchi's military governor, Com-mander Rasheed Raji, rewrote and backdated a law to set up a semimilitary tribunal with sweeping jurisdiction. The law was made to cover the previous week's killings.

The charges - as in the Saro-Wiwa case - amount to guilt by

> extraordinary opportunity for the future of the country has been lost." le had been asked to put togethera oadly-based administration that would have enabled parliament to reform the constitution.

the stock market tumbling last week. The Milan bourse's Mibtel adex lost 3.62 per cent, and the lira ook a battering.

The urbane Mr Fini emerged the clear winner from the latest round of infighting and looks increasingly like the true helmsman of Italy's rightwing alliance. Convinced that his "post-fascists" will do well out of polls, he had been openly in favour of an election from the outset. But Mr Berlusconi — who has endureda string of political setbacks and is now on trial for bribery — was only gradually convinced.

coni issued a statement saying: "Only parliamentary elections can democracy and give the country stade government

In a newspaper interview last week he acknowledged that his ally had "got it right". Mr Berluscon's own, half-hearted, attempts to reach a cross-party deal have done nothing to enhance his reputation or electoral prospects.

Direct talks between John Major and President Bill Clinton, and between the British Foreign Secre tary, Malcolm Rifkind, and the US secretary of state, Warren Christopher, have so far failed to resolve the issue.

The Iranian bill, introduced last year by Republican Senator Al-phonse D'Amato of New York would penalise non-US companies trading with Iran by denying them loans. It could prohibit their imports to the US and exclude them from US government contracts.

Italy heads for early elections

John Hooper in Rome

TALY is heading for a general election at the end of April after the lender of the right, the media ty-coon Silvio Berlusconi, last week made the latest in a series of reversals and announced his conversion to the cause of an early poll.

Most of his allies and the leader of the biggest party on the left had already come out in favour of a return to the ballot box, almost three vears ahead of schedule.

The man chosen by the president, Oscar Luigi Scalfaro, to forma government out of the existing evenly divided legislature had earier admitted failure. Antonio Maccanico, a distinguished former civil servant, put the blame on the right and particularly the leader of Italy's former neo-fascists, Gianfranco

Mr Maccanico said: "A great and

A spring election could help clarify the balance of forces — but would be bad news for Italy's European part i ners. Rome currently holds the Eaopean Union's rotating presidency /ith a caretaker administration in office until late April, Italy would be rship the EU badly needs in the aproach to next month's launch of the daastricht review process. There is p ilso the prospect of a lengthy delay

Last week, however, Mr Berlus remake the torn fabric of our

That has certainly been true in recent months as the political confrontation between the government' of Begum Khaleda Zia and the opposition Awami League leader, Sheikh Hasina Wajed, escalated into protest strikes and random violence,

was in the contract of

Commence of the

Zagrania di da ka

the last two years has scythed the country's growth rate back to 4 per-cent. Foreign aid donors cut their contributions from \$2 billion to \$1.6

Rivalry and corruption cripple the economy

to start importing rice again. All that

had been achieved in the early

1990s was coming undone. The

Bangladesh economy is coming to a

There are few signs that the gov-ernment will heed the warnings.

Although Mrs Zia's ruling Bangla-

desh Nationalist Party (BNP) has

romped home with 205 out of the 207

seats declared in last week's general

election, it was not what could nor-

mally be considered a victory.

crisis," Professor Mahmud said.

Last week's flawed election is just the latest blow adainst the people, writes Suzanne Goldenberg

LTHOUGH IT still ranks | billion. Agricultural production among the dozen poorest | dropped so steeply that Dhaka had among the dozen poorest countries in the world, Bangladesh has been rising out of poverty, consigning Henry Kiss-inger's "international basket case" to history.

lts reputation nowadays owes more to the success of non-governmental ventures like the Grameen bank, which keeps its 2 million mainly female borrowers out of the grip of rapacious village moneylenders, and has spawned copy-cat projects by the World Bank and other institutions. The official story, by contrast, has been one of repres sion and misrule.

Bangladesh will be 25 years old in December. Thousands of people died in the uprising against Pak-istan; they left their children a country in which military dictators have ruled for 15 years.

During the 1980s, General Hus-sain Mohammed Ershad presided over a particularly corrupt and incompetent administration. Rich factory owners siphoned off 42 per cent of the country's power supply. and much the same happened to the other essential services.

But the introduction of economic reforms after the restoration of democracy in 1991 led to modest improvements. The relatively new garment industry became the country's largest foreign exchange carner. Economic growth rose to 6.5 per cent - close to the rates that propelled Taiwan and South Korea forward - and inflation fell to record lows. Foreign exchange reserves grew tenfold from 1991, while the savings rate, a crucial indicator of economic success, doubled to 12 per cent of GDP. And while foreign investment didn't exactly pour in

there were definite signs of interest. "The broad picture was that in spite of it all, there have been some signs of positive trends," said Wahiduddin Mahmud, president of the Bangladesh Economic Association.

But the good times still passed

tens of millions of people by. Purbo Hajipura is a Dhaka slum whose misery is defined by the fact that its people do not even live on dry land, but in corrugated (in huts perched on stilts above a swamp. The people here lack the skills or education to profit from economic liberalisation, and they have been overlooked by

"We have never seen any development or any change in our lives," said Habibur Rahman, a vegetable vendor, who came to the city be-cause he could not survive in his village. Here he shares a tin shack, an oven in the summer heat, with one other family. "To me, development means the price of rice. And no matter who the Rajah or Rani is, the price of rice goes up."

A cycle rickshaw driver from the

same district chimes in. "We are poor people, and we don't know what is in store for our children either."

Economists believe the unrest of

Sheikh Hasina's Awami League cratic vote then a 10 per cent turnout has to be accepted." ties boycotted the polls in a protest Her determination to continue in

office, tempered by an eve of poll

for a neutral, caretaker government offer to resume talks with a view to hat would oversee the elections. holding fresh elections, is matched Reports of systematic ballotby Sheikh Hasina, who is possessed stuffing at what was essentially a by the idea of forcing her out. The one-party poll last week support their contention that Mrs Zia's govnsequences of their personal feud are ruinous. One Western diplomat ernment was incapable of conductsays the crisis "has weakened whating a fair vote. ever competence there was in gov-Though it is difficult to be certain rnment to take on reforms".

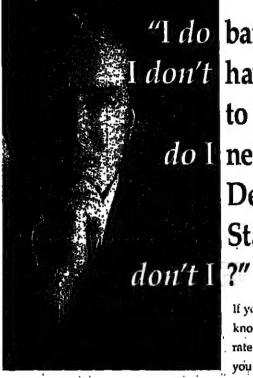
galnst Mrs Zia's failure to make way

More important are the questions just how low the turnout was because of BNP fraud, the opposition t raises about whether Bangladesh can establish a stable democracy. s claiming 95 per cent of voters stayed away. Foreign monitors have | Human rights activists fear the elecput the figure at about 80 per cent.
But Mrs Zia said: "If it is a demo-army, chastened after Gen Ershad's

fall and confined to barracks, to play a larger role in public life. Lawyers say soldiers searching for illegal weapons in the village of Char Syedpur last month smashed up homes, and beat up 200 people. It is the first rights case to be filed against the armed forces since the restoration of civilian rule.

There are also fears that the relics of Gen Ershad's supporters in the Jatiya Party, as well as the fundamentalist Jamat-e-Islami, who also boycotted last week's vote, may ultimately gain from the crisis.

"What this whole crisis has brought out is a kind of intolerance. hostility and terror that will be diffi cult to control," said Sirajul Islam Chowdhury, a columnist and English professor at Dhaka University.



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The US this week

Martin Walker

VEN before the first primary state of New Hampshire casts its bell-wether vote, it is sale to say that the real winner this year will be Bill Clinton. Vicious internal battles have left the Republicans broke, exhausted, and bitterly

After Clinton, it is the Christian Coalition, which has imposed its authority upon the hapless Republicans, that will emerge with any advantage from this poll, along with Pat Buchanan who has forced the rest of the party to enlist under the banner of "religious war for the soul of America", a banner he first raised at the 1992 Republican convention

More than six inches of snow had already failen on New Hampshire, and it was still snowing last Friday as the once-moderate Republican candidate Lamar Alexander turned up to share the platform at his first rally with the Christian Coalition.

"If all Americans shared the Christian Coalition's involvement in politics, this country would not be in the trouble it is," he told them. 'I'm glad to have the energy of Christian

Then Elizabeth Dole turned up unexpectedly, to stand in for her husband and applaud politely in the driving blizzard as the voice of the Christian Coalition's director, Ralph Reed, proclaimed that "the Republican party cannot, should not, must not retreat from its pro-life stand".

The appearance of Alexander and Mrs Dole to pay fealty to the zealots of the religious right is just one more sign of the transformation that has overcome the old Republican party. Even Ronald Reagan kept these folk at arm's length, addressing their rallies only by telephone, even when they were gathered at the White House sence.

Senator Bob Dole and Lamar Alexander are of that centrist strand of the party which wishes the abortion issue would go away. and stop dividing the party and driving away educated and middleclass women such as Mrs Dole or Honey Alexander. Indeed, the latter used to raise funds for abortion clinics as a leading member of

Planned Parenthood. Alexander says he opposes abor- | V V watching the Republican tion, but does not want to outlaw it nor make doctors liable to murder charges, and would leave any legislation to individual states. Dole would like to pick as his vice-presidential candidate either retired general Colin Powell or the governor of New Jersey, Christine Todd Whitman. But since both support a woman's right to choose, he dare not. The Christian Coalition has al- Republican, and the battle has ready promised to veto any such ticket.

cket.

From the house they share the house-husband aged 40, considered us not mince our words, my political rivals devise attacks on ered divorce. Eventually, he

friends, as this party and this country have tragically done for too long," says Buchanan. "Abortion is murder. Whether the pregnancy is the result of incest or rape, the abortion of that innocent life is still murder. If there is killing to be done, kill

Exactly one week earlier, on the eve of the lowa caucuses, there was another ominous example of the tightening grip of the religious right, when all the Republican can-didates paid homage to the gay-bashing lobby in their party. Dole and Alexander sent letters of endorsement to this rally, which pledged that the Republican candidate would never legalise same-sex

Buchanan and Steve Forbes and the rest of the candidates turned up at the First Federated Church in Des Moines, to hear the deep baying sound of triumphant bigotry as the Republicans were told to "send this evil life-style back to Satan. where it came from".

Only one Republican candidate refused to pay lip-service to this nastiness, Senator Richard Lugar. An impressive former chairman of the foreign relations committee, a Rhodes scholar, and nearly picked by both Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan as vice-president, Lugar is a Republican of the old school. Tolerant, internationalist, fiscally conservative and socially prepared to let other citizens mind their own moral business, he would, in times of normality, have been a leading candi-

But what is happening inside the Republican party is not normal. If the Republican party were a person, rather than one of the most powerful and enduring political organisations. we would have called in the men in white coats by now. Last month, they were poised to anoint the political virgin Forbes, a goofy halfbillionaire with an ego the size of his bank balance. This month, it is the American ayatollah Buchanan, a fundamentalist Christian.

To save them from this fate, the party now depends on an old-timer with a mean streak, or his younger alternative, an ethically-challenged and genial blancmange who plays a nice piano. There is snarling Dole, who, first entered Congress 12 months before John Kennedy went to the White House, and would be the oldest man ever elected president. The ultimate Washington insider during a period when the voters appear to be clamouring for outsiders, even his considerable war chest could not maintain his front-runner's lead.

Jonathan Freedland

In Concord, New Hampshire

family feud in New Hampshire,

the voters of Oregon are gripped

by a domestic war much closer to

home: the bitter contest between

a husband and wife fighting each

Thomas and Melinda Wilde

are both candidates for the 8th

senate. He is a Democrat, she a

district of the Oregon state

A / HILE most Americ

other for the same seat.

aiready turned nasty.



erately inoffensive Alexander, whose skill at turning a \$1 investment into \$620,000 while governor of Tennessee makes Hillary Clinton look like a model of financial virtue. Lamar's wife. Honey, made almost as much again through buying stock in a private prison corporation, just as her husband's state government began contracting out prison services.

The Republican party now conrols the US Senate and the House of Representatives and nearly twothirds of the governorships of the 50 states. Facing a wounded President Clinton in an election year when the economy is slowing sharply, the Republicans should be preparing to regain the White House. They have a historic opportunity to consolidate the one grand political strategy on which the party agrees: to roll back the state from the swollen and grandiose propor-tions the federal government achieved after 50 years of cold war and 30 years of Lyndon Johnson's

Great Society. Instead, the Republicans are stuck with a field of candidates who range from the drab to the weird and terrifying, and not one of them comes within 14 points of Clinton in the latest opinion polls. They are locked in a victous civil war, in a campaign marked by the most negative advertising in memory. But there is a logic to this process. All political parties are coalitions, held

each other and campaign litera-ture to expose the flaws they

tice before she met me and,

frankly, I'm the better candi-

date," says Mr Wilde. What's

her share of the washing-up.

election - used to be on the

same side. Until last month, he

was her campaign manager. But they bickered about everything.

"It got way too personal," Mr

Wilde says. So Mr Wilde, a

more, be adds, she doesn't do

The duelling couple — the first to stage such a contest in a US

know only too well.

of the four main Republican candidates represents at least one important component of that cualition.

Dole's backers say this second world war veteran from the farm state of Kansas represents the party's Mid-Western tradition, the small businessmen of countless main streets and the sturdily independent farmers. True, but he also represents corporate agriculture, like his most reliable source of campaign finance, Archer Daniels Mid-land, whose ads boast of being supermarket to the world".

LEXANDER represents the old George Bush wing of the party, the Republicans of the country clubs, a well-educated and comfortable upper middle class that prides itself on being pragmatic rather than ideological. Fiscally conservative, they tend to be socially quite liberal, on abortion and gays and prayer in schools, and all the other other issues which inflame the Christian Coalition.

Forbes represents Wall Street, and the impassioned free-marketcers and supply-side economists who last had the world's biggest economy to play with in Ronald Reagan's first term.

Those three represent the grand traditions of the Republican party. They stand for US business, the nation's global role and military alliances, and for free trade. Or at least they did, until Dole saw the political opportunity in bashing the together by ideology and tradition United Nations and criticising National by a shared lust for power. Each the free-trade pact with Mexico. United Nations and criticising Nafta,

Oregon couple separated by political rivalry chose the next best thing: a pub-

"I was ticked off to lose my

ampaign manager," says Ms

Wilde, a lawyer aged 35. "But

my biggest concern was that he

would take away my credibility.

that people would think this is a

braced the contest, marvelling at

joke." Instead, voters have em-

the rival his-and-hers campaign

signs on the Wilde's front lawn,

and licking their lips at the dirty

The pair insist they want to

stay together. Do they still love

Wilde says. "But I didn't get into

each other? "Yeah, sure," Mr

lic battle at the polls.

tricks in store.

this to lose."

Neither one will back down, and tage of age, Dole has the money But they both look second best, and so they are, ever since Colla Powell and Speaker Newt Gingrich separately decided not to run.

"Even if I lose this nomination, have been trying to make this 4 Buchananite party, and I am win-ning, Buchanan sald last week Quite so. Dole is campaigning as a cultural conservative, and Alexan-der looked suitably devout as he bent the knee at his first Christian Coalition rally last week.

Jim Hoagland, page 13

By contrast, Buchanan represents some of the old Republican traditions, from 19th century protectionism to 1930s' isolationism. But he also embodies the new forces within the party. The darling of the religious right and the anti-abortion militants, he also threatens to evice the UN from US soil, and would take the US out of Nafta and the Gatt system's World Trade Organisation. He shrugs off the labels "isolationist" and "protectionist", and says simply, "I am for America First — and the moment I lift my hand from the Bible at my swearing in. every US soldier in Bosnia boards a plane to come home"

Buchanan believes he represents the Republican future, and in private conversation over a glass of chardonnay he calls it "the culmination of a long, historic process".

"I'm not a country club Republican. They don't like folks like us in that country club," he told a rally of working-class Christians and gunowners in Littleton, New Hampshire. ast week. "When it comes to a choice between Wall Street profits or the share dividends they like to count down at the country club, and the jobs of ordinary Americans who are trying to compete with Mexicans who earn a dollar a day, I'm with the ordinary Americans,"

The Republicans are the party of Abraham Lincoln, who fought the civil war to end slavery. As a result, he South was for a century the strongest base of the Democratic party, until President Lyndon Johnson signed the Civil Rights bill into law in 1964, and whispered to his aide Bill Moyers: "This will keep us out of power for a generation."

That year, the Republican candidate Barry Goldwater won four Southern states. In 1968, the defecting governor of Alabama, George Wallace, preled away a few more, and by Nixon's re-election campaign of 1972 the South was becoming the keystone of the new Republican majority in presidential elections. By 1994, the Democrats' rout in the South was complete in both the congressional and state elections.

The future of the Republican party is now a neuter of numbers. In a low turn-out, like Louisiana or Jowa this year, the dedication of the Buchanar brigades makes him do dispropor tionately well. Buchanan is convinced he can win New Hampshire and is certain to keep going to the Super Tuesday primary when the South votes on March 12. But Wall Street and main street, and countryclub, are deeply suspicious of his populism, so Buchanan remains a. long shot, (If Buchanan got the nomination, and targeted that large mass of Democratic voters opposed to Nafta from the beginning, Clinton would face an interesting race.)

The Republicans seem condemned by personal rivalry to lose their chance. Either Dole or Alexander could beat Buchanan in the primaries and give Clinton a serious

COMPENSATION paid to pregnant women discharged from the armed forces will number claiming will reach

Few spouses succeed in blocking divorce on hardship grounds because it is the formal dissolution of the marriage which must be

spouse divorced under the no-fault law, but Lord Mackay has now

agreed to amend "grave" to "sub-stantial" and include hardship to the

shown to cause the hardship, rather than the splitting of the family. han the splitting of the family.

The few cases in which courts

have barred divorces on hardship grounds under existing law have mainly been where women would lose benefits or pension rights by being divorced rather than separated. Lord Mackay has decided not to go ahead with a provision allowing courts to give former wives a share of their former husbands pensions on divorce. Lord Mackay wants to consult further on the issue "in the absence of evidence that the provisions are necessary The Family Law Bill would have | and will work".

for election as rector of Glasgow

ORE THAN half the Rail, Maritime and Transport

union's national executive have

joined Arthur Scargill's embry-

onic Socialist Labour party,

raising the possibility that the

68.000-strong RMT could

eventually disaffiliate from Labour in protest at the

lirection taken by Tony Blair.

tor of BBC network radio,

five-year contract to run. She

IZ FORGAN, managing direc-

tned with two years of he

gave no reason, but bureaucracy

to have influenced her decision.

AMAN has been arrested in connection with the murder

of French student Celine Figard

C OMMITTAL proceedings against Szymon Serafinowicz,

aged 85, accused of second

at a Surrey magistrates court.

world war atrocities, has begun

last December.

and money shortages are thought

deportation.

University in an attempt to avoid

S AUDI dissident Mohammed al-Mas'ari, who been denied rates of interest in all these ners asylum by Britain, is standing

cut by 5 per cent last year.

THE "HUSBAND" of 13-yearold Sarah Cook was released from jail after a Turkish court heard she had the body of a 16-

ATTHE 15th annual British record industry awards, Oasis won the best Album, Video and Group categories. Supergrass took the Newcomers award, Paul Weller was named best Male Singer, and David Bowle won an Outstanding Contribution award. At the same event, scores of teenage girls struggled to come to terms with the last television appearance of chart-topping British band Take That, who announced their break-up.

exceed £55 million and the total . 5,150, according to documents listing every award made by the Ministry of Defence.

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UK NEWS 9

### Howard to end jail for fine defaulters

Alan Travis

GUAFIDIAN WEEKLY February 25 1998

HE jailing of more than 22,000 fine defaulters a year is to end, the Home Secretary, Michael Howard, announced New guidance is to be issued to

magistrates which will end the centuries-old practice of sending to prison petty offenders who have ailed repeatedly to pay court fines. "Together with the Lord Chancel-

lor, I am reviewing the powers and procedures available to the courts that 22,500 fine defaulters were to ensure that they can enforce | jailed in 1994 - making up more payment of fines without resorting | than a quarter of those sent to

vorce laws will have the right to ask

the court to block the divorce be-

cause it would cause them or their

children substantial financial or

other hardships, writes Clare Dyer.
The amendment to the Family
Law Bill has been conceded by the

Lord Chancellor, Lord Mackay,

after pressure from Tory peers who

believe the no-fault law will make di-

The Lord Chancellor's depart-

ment denied that children will be

given the right to contest their par-

The change is likely to prove largely cosmetic, because a similar

provision in the existing law is rarely

invoked successfully. Spouses di-

vorced without their consent after

five years' separation can contest the

divorce on the ground that it will

cause them (but not their children)

THE OVERSEAS development

minister, Baroness Chalker,

announced that future British

aid will be targeted at only 20

countries. The aid budget was

grave (inancial or other hardship.

in Brief

vorce too easy and harm children.

Mackay heeds divorce plea

S POUSES being divorced against their will under new no-fault dispouse divorced under the no-fault

Howard told a prison service conference in Brighton last week.

The decision coincides with a Th sharply rising prison population women jailed were imprisoned for expected to hit a record 53,000 by

the end of this month at a time of a 13.3 per cent cut in running costs. There is also increasing public concern over the jailing of petty offenders - particularly women with multiple debt problems who have not paid television licences — and poll tax defaulters.

nual prison population. to imprisonment save in the most prison that year. Most were in sure that fines remain a credible exceptional circumstances," Mr prison for less than a week. Forty court sentence. Among options can

The Home Secretary also confirmed that he is to introduce a white paper later this year which will introduce minimum sentences for repeat burglars and drug dealers and "two strikes and you're out" mandatory life sentences for repeat apists. This package could add 10,000 to 20,000 inmates to the an-

Mr Howard refused to outline what other options he will use to en-

pation officers help defaulters sort out debts; and electronic tagging.

The decision to end the use of jail was widely welcomed by penal reformers and within the prison service. Paul Cavadino of the Penal Affairs Consortium said jailing people whose original offences were insufficiently serious to leserve custody was indefensible.

But magistrates and chief probation officers later voiced strong reservations over Mr Howard's decision. Rosemary Thomson, chairwoman of the Magistrates' Association, warned it would remove

an effective deterrent against those who wilfully refused to pay. Some magistrates argue that many pay up "at the prison gate" when faced with the immediate threat of iail.

Mrs Thomson said it was a myth that most of those who were jailed were pathetic hardship cases of lems. Only 400 of the 22,500 jailed in 1994 for failing to pay a court fine were women who had originally failed to buy a television licence.

"Some people wilfully refuse to pay their fine and it is hard to think there's any option for them but prison," Mrs Thomson said.

 One hundred extra accountants are being recruited by the Prison Service to prevent a repeat of the "complete breakdown in monitoring and control" which led to a £37 million spending spree last year.

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greater that I report that the property of the control of the control of

The inquiry's

main points

☐ Government policy towards the export of "non-lethal military

goods" was changed following

he Iran-Iraq ceasefire in 1938

in a way that should have been

It was a substantive change in

policy, not a reinterpretation of

changing circumstances, as Mr

ately" failed to inform Parliament

of this shift in policy because of

None of the ministers involved

n the changes acted with "du-

plicitous" intent in reshaping

guidelines, but they agreed that no publicity should be given to

☐ The Government's claim that

ta position over arms sales to

irun and Iraq was "even-handed" had been untrue since

the decision, taken as a conse-quence of the Salman Rushdie

affair, to return to a more strict

O In the Supergun affair, MI6

and the Government had reason

approach towards Iran.

omers were intended for

1990, but did not act.

litary use long before the

pipes were seized by Customs in

☐ The Matrix Churchill arms-to-

Iraq trial "ought never to have

The Government had no inten-

crucial documents in the trial.

However, the practice and use of

public interest immunity certi-

ficates to block the release of

government documents to the

defence "had no authoritative

precedent in a criminal trial",

although ministers were not

informed of this before being

asked to sign, Attorney General Sir Nicholas

Lyell was personally at fault for

falling to brief the Matrix Churchill trial prosecutors of

to sign a PII.

Michael Heseltine's reluctance

the decision to relax them.

fears of public opposition.

existing advice in the light of

Valdegrave claimed.

reported to the Commons.

Richard Norton-Taylor OHN MAJOR threw a proteclive shield around the two

ministers at the centre of the arms-to-Iraq controversy in the face of caustic criticism of their conduct in the long-awaited Scott report and angry Opposition calls for their

Both the Chief Secretary to the Freasury, William Waldegrave, and Sir Nicholas Lyell, the Attorney General, insisted they would not resign, and Downing Street made plain it will fight to keep them as Labour continues what Mr Major regards as its scurrilous counter-attack.

Last week's Cabinet decision to tough out the pre-election crisis came despite Mr Waldegrave being accused of a "deliberate" failure to inform Parliament about a decision to allow exports of more armsrelated equipment to Iraq for fear of "strong public opposition" — particularly in the light of Saddam Hussein's gassing of Kurds.
Sir Richard Scott says in his

report that there was a change of policy towards Iraq in 1988, and to argue otherwise, as Mr Waldegrave and his fellow ministers did,

amounted to "sophistry".

He criticises Sir Nicholas for being "personally at fault" in his handling of the Matrix Churchill trial - the collapse of which triggered the 39-month inquiry.

But his targets go beyond the two ninisters most closely involved. Sir Richard accuses the Government of "failing to discharge the obligations imposed by the constitutional principle of ministerial accountability".

Questions of Procedure for Ministers says it is their duty not to deceive or mislead Parliament. "Example after example has come to light of an apparent fallure by ministers to discharge that obligation."

The Prime Minister and his Cabinet clung to Sir Richard's acceptance that there was no conspiracy to let innocent Matrix Churchill defendants go to jail and that both ministers had acted "honestly and in good faith" as the Thatcher government changed its policies to help British industry cash in on the end of the Iran-Iraq

later said was "a cock-up, not a conspiracy", Labour insisted that in-

Led by the shadow foreign secredid change their arms sale policy to-Parliament or the courts.

In Sir Richard's words, there was

later dispatched a dossier of quotes from Sir Richard's report to every Tory MP in an attempt to persuade them of the extent of the judge's criticisms of the Government.

Waldegrave, had been found guilty of deliberately misleading Parliament more than 30 times.

In a combative Commons statement, Ian Lang, the Trade Secretary, promised to act on Sir Richard's calls for reforms, including greater government openness and better nanagement of intelligence reports, vhile insisting that it was Labour's duty to apologise for three years of "reckless and malicious" allegations

"clear evidence" that ministers knew of the Iraqi supergun a year before parts of it were seized by British Customs in 1989, Mr Cook said. As for the intelligence information as to the true destiny of Matrix Churchill machine tools - Iraq - it was so strong that ministerial insistence to the contrary amounted to

Mr Campbell said: "It is not possible to think of any sphere of activity in which an individual could be so criticised and still retain his job."

intention", the report concedes.

f conspiracy and cover-up.

Faced with what Tory loyalists competence alone would warrant

tary, Robin Cook, Labour and the Liberal Democrats accused ministers of blatant news management designed to duck the report's two central conclusions: that ministers wards Saddam Hussein and that they refused to admit it either to

"the Nelsonian use of a blind eye".

Labour and the Liberal Democrats

Mr Cook and the Liberal Democrat spokesman, Menzies Campbell holding a rare joint press conference, urged Tory MPs to study the report and recognise that the for-mer Foreign Office minister, Mr



to Mr Major himself, arguing that by defending ministers the Prime Minister has created a parliamentary as much as a political crisis.

But Mr Major and Mr Lang are narrowly interpreting the terms of reference of the report, saying it was only examining two central charges — whether there had been any sales of arms to Iraq and whether there Labour plans to spread the attack cent people to lall.

The Opposition parties are also unhappy at the way Sir Richard has pulled his punches in the sometimes contradictory report. Labour officials, eager for a scalp, privately accuse him of "lacking bottle" as well as naivety in the way he allowed the presentation of his report to be stolen from him by ministers: the judge showed them draft copies of his report and invited their pro-

Sir Richard concluded that the fallure to tell the House of Commons about the change "was the inevitable result of the agreement etween the three junior ministers [Waldegrave, Alan Clark, and Lord Trefgarnel that no publicity would be given to the decision to adopt a jail by blocking the release of more liberal, or relaxed policy . . . I have come to the conclusion that the overrkling and determinate reason was a fear of strong public oppoaltion to the loosening of the restrictions on the supply of defence

British trading interests.

Although Sir Richard accepted that Mr Waldegrave dld not regard the agreement to change the guidelines as a change of policy, he said there was overwhelming evidence

1989 in which Mr Waldegrave said: There has been no change in our policy on arms sales to Iran . . . " Sir Richard then notes a letter from Mr Waldegrave's private secretary on February 7 which said: "Mr Waldegrave is content for us to implement to suspect that pipes being produced in Britain by Walter a more liberal policy on defence sales, without any public announce-ment on the subject."

equipment to Iraq and a consequen-tial fear that the pressure of the opposition might be detrimental to

THE EMBLEMATIC character in the saga of the Scott inquiry is not William Waldegrave but Geoffrey Howe. Sir Richard Scott had hardly begun his work before Lord Howe took it on himself to be the scourge and defamer of his work: prosecutor, judge and jury in the attack on what he was about to publish. Howe's contention was partly that Scott's procedure was unfair, and

his inquiry "not a tribunal upon whose judgment the reputation of anyone should be allowed to dewould have to stop at once." pend". This perilous exaggeration did not deter the former foreign secretary from declaring that the re-port had vindicated ministers and government in all particulars. But it wasn't, in any case, the essence of his outrage. This was, rather, the "gap of non-comprehension" existing between Scott's world and "the real world", which rendered the judge incapable of engaging with what ministers had to do.

Howe offered this scathing opinion as an elder statesman, as if he Scott so woefully failed to understand. But he was nothing of the sort. Reading the report, one is reminded not only that he, as William Waldegrave's superior, presided with meticulous enthusiasm over every subterfuge by which Middle East arms sales were kept from public view, but that he exalts everything Scott criticises about Whitehall life: its secrecies, duplicities, unaccountable networks; its swift capacity to rationalise the misleading of Parliament as raison d'état.

unaccountable networks

The ministers involved in arms sales to lead have escaped any censure they're prepared to regard as such. They're satisfied that the sincerity of their errors protects them from blame. In fact, they think they're heroes. Howe told Scott that the guidelines restraining arms sales to Iraq and Iran amounted, in contrast with the policies of other countries, to "a huge national sacrifice".

For in Geoffrey Howe's world, not only do the ministers in this saga have nothing to be assumed of, there isn't even a marginal case to answer. The national interest demands the sale of arms, lethal or non-lethal according to time and place. The rules are debated between honourable men, with conclusions that must inevitably be kept quiet: and, if exposed, must be justi-fied by the kind of casuistry which, in Howe's world, is second nature, but which, if admitted to Scott's world, requires to be taken apart. It is, above all, the act of taking apart that Howe resents as a grotesque intrusion on the public interest.

Reading the Scott report, one can

Consider the single question of the guidelines. The question was: did Waldegrave knowingly deceive, Parliament? Answer: No. He was not, says Scott, "diplicitous". Therefore he claims innocence. He says for he claims innocence the says intolerable in any other field of human conduct, culminating with helieve the he sincerely didn't believe the guidelines had been changed. Yet behind this simple verdict lies a vast accumulation of evidence that they had changed, that officials and ministers thought they had changed, that ministers were aware how intensely embarrassing this nilight be, that the convenience of secrety hadn't changed because ministers said they hadn't changed it. "In the world of Sir Richard Scott, even after three years exposure, it is phrase Scott proffered to Sir

Hugo Young reflects on a world of duplicity and

Robin Butler, the essence of which the Cabinet Secretary did not reject prevailed whenever necessary.

Robin Butler, the essence of which the Cabinet Secretary did not reject prevailed whenever necessary.

Such linguistic relativism. In giving the world of Howe. The armies of White-best ally. The report is absurdly hall have rewritten the grammar of long. Gigantism takes over his lord-

Ministers heavily armed against the truth

ship, as he journeys down every meandering and sometimes futile side-path of the arms export world,

the licensing and concealment thereof, the 1939 statute that still

governs it etc etc. The limitless ver-bosity of the High Court bench, so

ready to reach for double negatives,

s rotundly on display. But in most

ways, the judge lives up to Howe's

worst expectations. More than any-

one could see in the first few hours

after publication of the report, he

exposes and denounces the world

It is true, for example, that he ac-

quits Waldegrave of knowingly mis-

leading the Commons, The minister

had no "duplicitous intention". On

the other hand, his conduct and that

of Howe and every other minister

had duplicity about it. What re-mained "duplicitous", he writes, was

the "nature of the flexibility claimed

for the guidelines". In any other

context than one in which ministers

were expecting to be hung, drawn

and quartered, such a verdict would

Howe speaks for.

— prevailed whenever necessary.

The original guidelines, first of all, were not published. Howe, who framed them in 1984, thought they "should be allowed to filter out". During the Iran-Iraq war, the restraints they were supposed to impose on lethal weaponry were even-handed but liberally interpreted - with full awareness, however, of how scandal might beckon. Of Matrix-Churchill machine tools, for example, one of Howe's officials wrote in 1988: "If it becomes public knowledge that the tools are to be used to make munitions, deliveries

That the position altered when the war ended is attested to in numerous ways. Paul Channon, trade secretary at the time, told Scott: "I think (ministers) changed the rules as they went on. In reality, if ministers decide to ignore the guidelines, they can be ignored." Alan Clark, Channon's junior, ecstatically noted the "brilliant" drafting that had exchanged a tight policy for a looser one — "so obviously drafted with the object of flexibility".

have been worth a resignation. But we don't need to rely only on fringe players. In September 1988, Howe remarked that "it could look very cynical" if, shortly after condemning Iraq for using chemical warfare against Kurds, "we adopt a more flexible approach to arms sales". He wanted to encourage these. His officials should "get moving down that path". Asked by Scott o examine why secrecy about the new policy must obtain, Howe alhided with a palpable shudder to "the emotional way in which such debates are conducted in public".

This was not a foreign secretary talking about a policy that did not change. Nor, obviously, was Waldegrave when his office wrote in February 1989 that he was "content for us to implement a more liberal policy on defence sales without any

A SKED why this flexibility it-self could not have been ad-mitted rather than concealed behind a succession of studiously misleading parliamentary answers Waldegrave and Howe each supplied explanations that concede starkly the priorities which they, it their heroic conduct of the public business, invite us to excuse.

"Because it was judged that there were overriding reasons for giving misleading information about tilts to one side," said Waldegrave.

"If we were to lay specifically our thought processes before you," said Howe, "they are laid before a worldwide range of uncomprehending or nalicious commentators." This is the moral quality of the

world of Howe, Waldegrave, Major, lang and every other minister who cence, and through the other the naivety of Lord Justice Scott. It is not exactly amoral; it merely gives dissembling a higher priority than other worlds. But it countenances.

is not impressed. The contention that the guidelines were not changed, he said in a paragraph that somehow escaped Lang's attention, "is so plainly inapposite as to be incapable of being sustained by serious argument".

E SAW what was up. The change was kept secret for a very old-fashioned reason, which he understands. "It might legitimately have been feared that public knowledge of an intended relaxation of restrictions on the supply of defence equipment to Iraq would provoke such indignation in the media and among vociferous sec-tions of the British public as to be politically damaging.

What Scott won't accept is that commercial interests should override all other considerations. He calls public disclosure a "constitutional" question, which should have been weighted better in the balance against political advantage and the intricacies of Middle East trade politics, real or imagined. His verdict on the world Howe defends is extraor-The panoply of linguistic gamedinarily harsh. For six years, he

Parliament being kept informed Time and time again, ministers came down against full disclosure for no better reason than that this would be politically inconvenient.

Will the Scutt report redefine Howe's "real world"? In one sense, the real world seems to be winning. Nobody is planning to resign. The linguistic conjurers think they've taken the big tricks.

The systemic indictment, however, stands. Ministers, clearly, intend to pay little attention. Having got the exonerations they wanted, they've made a few patronising ref erences to Sir Richard's recommen dations on export licensing. For the rest, they have no shame. Their world is Howe's world, and the only reason this opportunity arose to expose it was a misbegotten prosecuion of Matrix-Churchill executives that went wrong.

The only weapon against cynical expectations is that the world of Richard Scott should capture the public mind as being ineffably superior to that of Geoffrey Howe. The ministers survive, to continue their heroic obfuscations. The judge, in his innocence, argues for something better. So should all who believe that these ministers, when put to the test, were serial defaulters

# Failings that continue to haunt ministers

David Pallister

SIR NICHOLAS LYELL, the Attorney General who handled the preparations for the Matrix Churchill trial was personally at fault for a serious omission in the prosecution case, Sir Richard said. This was the failure to instruct the

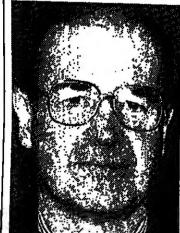
prosecuting counsel Alan Moses QC that Michael Heseltine, then trade and industry secretary, had reservations about signing a public interest immunity certificate (PII) designed to persuade the judge not to disclose o ure delence. The judge was never advised of

Mr Heseltine's cloubts, even though Sir Nicholas had assured Mr Heseltine that the limited scope of his PII would be drawn to the attention of the court. Sir Richard said he accepted "the

genuineness of his belief that he was personally, as opposed to constitutionally, blameless for the inadequacy of the instructions sent to Mr Moses. But I do not accept that he was not personally at fault."

3

In the report, William Walde-



Lyell: 'personally at fault'

from 1988-90, is also criticised for sending 38 untrue letters to MPs between March and July 1989, and for misleading Parliament. In the letters he asserts that "the Government have not changed their policy on defence sales to Iraq or Iran."

Sir Richard sald: "Mr Waldegrave knew, first hand, the facts that, in



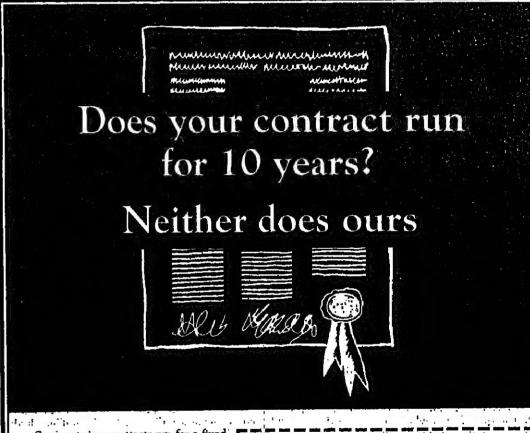
Waldegrave: 'fear of opposition'

port's criticisms in every particular. In a prepared statement he said: "Sir Richard Scott clears me of lying to Parliament or intending to mislead anyone in letters I signed."

change in policy statement untrue."

Mr Waldegrave rejected the re-

But Sir Richard singled out a pargrave, the Foreign Office minister | my opinion, rendered the 'no crat MP David Alton in February | to the contrary". liamentary answer to Liberal Demo-



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HE AID DEBATE that Lady Chalker rekindled last week is about principle and methods—but it is also about money. That is why a speech which sets out new aims for British aid policy, and offers many points on which the aid agencies would largely agree, still has to be held up to a searching light. There is a good case for targeting British bilateral aid more precisely rather than dispersing it among no fewer than 163 different countries. The goal set out by Lady Chalker, to ensure that "the poorest countries get the greatest concentration of effective help", is an excellent one, But the bare figures show that targeting under conditions of a declining aid budget will have little positive effect. Britain's position in the league table of aid donors is not all that brilliant - and will worsen further as a result of the cut announced in last November's budget.

The thrust of targeting as set out last week is to concentrate the resources of the Overseas Development Administration (ODA) on the poorer countries of Asia and Africa, As Lady Chalker acknowledged, they already receive more than two-thirds of British bilateral aid and this proportion will only increase slightly this year. But the ODA's own calculations, published in its Fundamental Expenditure Review last year, show that aid to sub-Saharan Africa and south and east Asia is expected to fall in each terms by 17-18 per cent by 1997-98. This is before the Chancellor's cut of 6 per cent is taken into account. Shifting resources from Latin America and elsewhere to the new target areas seems therefore likely to do little more than compensate for the reductions that are bound to occur. Many recipients will end up by noticing little difference. Self-congratulation about Britain being the world's fifth largest aid donor is also misplaced. Lady Cholker at least added the revealing phrase "in absolute terms". British aid, as the OECD's development assistance committee has noted, ranks joint 14th with Finland as a percentage of GNP. According to the same unit of measurement our aid will have fallen to 0.26 per cent by 1997-98. The UN target of 0.7 per cent of GNP has long ago sunk far below the horizon.

This reduction in government aid budgets is not confined to Britain; OECD aid to the developing world is now at its lowest level — by the same measurement in proportion to GNP - for more than 20 years. It has become fashionable to argue that private investment has not only risen sharply but does a better job. Lady Chalker quite correctly rejects this excuse. Private financial flows tend to reward those who are already doing well, and they do not offer concessional assistance

It is encouraging to see the "overarching pur-pose" of British aid clearly defined as "poverty reduction and sustainable development" before more specific sime are set out. But over-precise targeting towards specific countries is not necessarily the best way. As several leading NGOs have argued in response, it is the people rather than the country who need to be targeted. There are substantial pockets of acute need in supposedly welloff developing countries. We may still note (as the OECD has done) that the quality of British bilateral aid is often much higher than that extended muldiaterally. Britain does do some things very well. The question is whether we can do so in all three essential areas of the post-cold war world peace-keeping, emergency intervention and development aid. Britain's claim to be a significant world power is boistered by this performance. But If aid budgets continue to decline, then "punching above our weight" will become a hollow charade.

### The end of the peer show

OTHING in British politics so sharply defines the difference between Labour and the Conservatives as their respective attitudes to the House of Lords. However radically the Conservatives may see themselves in other respects, they remain the most dogged defenders of the unreformed upper House. There is no more dramatic disjunction than to hear Conservative ministers celebrating the wholesale and wilful restructuring of British industry in one breath and displaying outrage at even the most gradual proposed reform of the British constitution in the next. Conversely, however cautious Labour may be about uproofing the legacy of Conservative economic and industrial policy, or about chucking out Conservative restructuring of the welfare state and education, when it comes to the constitution Labour is genuinely ready for action. Earlier this month Tony Blair set out an ambitious legislative programme, coherent and directed, which would occupy a Labour government for at least the lifetime of a parliament. In this part of Labour's programme there is no shirking the big targets - with

the conspicuous exception of the monarchy. Mr Blair committed himself to abolishing the political power of hereditary peers. Party loyalty among the 300-plus hereditary peers is grossly biased in the Conservatives' favour, he argues, and there are no conceivable grounds for maintaining this system. He believes that some of the genuinely talented existing hereditary peers could return to the reformed House as life peers, and that there is room for further discussion about a continuing appoluted element in the event of the upper House ecoming an elected body at a later stage.

The central objection to Mr Blair's plans is not that they go too far but that they do not go far enough. The loss of the hereditary peers will leave some 280 life peers who take the various party whips, plus another 100 or so cross-benchers (who include the judges and the bishops) who take no whip. Even among those who will remain there is a built-in Conservative majority. A Blair government would have to do something to redress the balance in the short term, and will also need to establish neans by which future appointments are made. Clearly, this confers enormous extra powers of patronage upon the office of prime minister. Unless and until the second House is elected in some as yet unspecified way, there will remain a permanent langer of party blas, nepotism and corruption.

Labour's shadow Home Secretary, Jack Straw, has countered this objection by saying that the proposed bill to abolish hereditary voting rights will e a first step, leading to other more democratic changes. To guard against government bias there will be an independent advisory body with an unspecified role in selecting new life peers. Mr Straw's laborations do not dispose of the fear that Labour will find the temptation to reward its own chums irresistible. Better a Labour majority than a Conservative majority, many will say. But better an elected second chamber than either of them. And soon,

### Playing it blind

HE UN'S GRUDGING assent to extend its peacekeeping mission in Angola for another three months reflects a lukewarm commitment that s all too familiar. Like other countries that became surrogate battlefields of the cold war, Angola and its continuing problems have been shrugged aside. The international community failed to back the verdict of the 1992 elections, which should have confirmed the existing Angolan government (MPLA) in power, Instead it condoned the wrecking efforts of the rebel Unita, which threatened to turn the country into another Somalia — and succeeded in doing so. In the two years of ensuing conflict it is estimated that more than 300,000 Angolans — about 3 per cent of the population — died. The Angolan people now live, and die, in a situation that s neither war nor peace. Three-quarters of a milion of them are displaced and a million children (let alone adults) now suffer acute deprivation.

A new Human Rights Watch report\* is correct in recording that both sides have committed violations. New weaponry has reached the government Luanda, especially from Russia and the Ukraine. Unita has atepped up its cross-border operations to bring in new weapons by land and air from Zaire and the Congo along routes developed in previous years by the CIA. A blind eye also appears to be turned towards the purchase of diamonds from Unita by reputable international

traders, which has replaced US covert aid. The root problem remains the legitimacy conferred by international actors — from the US itself to UN aid agencies and the secretary-general upon the Unita leader Jonas Savimbi after he spurned the result of the 1992 elections. He has now slowed down even further his army's demobilisation while refusing to take up ministerial posts offered to Unita in the latest of many concessions. Angola's problems will not be solved as long as Mr Savimbi's thuggish behaviour is appeased.

\*Angola Between War And Peace, Human Rights Watch, 33 Islington High Street, London N1 9LH.

### When it is easier to make war than peace

Martin Woollacott

ONG-RUNNING conflicts are like springs which, bent out of their normal shape by efforts it settlement, always threaten a vinent resumption of their original form. That is the lesson of Ireland, nd the spectre which looms over the search for peace in Bosnia, in the Middle East, in the increasingly tense north-east Asian region, and in many other places.

War is a habit all too easily resumed, and peace a habit not easily learned. What breaks the back of peace processes? It is a central question as the unravelling of what had seemed to be agreed deals threatens the era of negotiations which the end of the cold war made possible.

The short answer to what breaks he back of peace processes is conducting them as if they were a continuation of war. If there is no moderation of objectives, the more transition to a non-violent phase will solve nothing. The evidence sug-gests that three factors are critical. One is the obsession with issues seized on not principally for their substantive importance but as a means of inflicting humiliation on the other side, of engineering submission and thus achieving through ion-violent means what could not eachieved by violence,

Sometimes this comes out of what might be called the imperial cast of mind, the approach to negotiation. of nations that have been or still are great powers, and who find it estraordinarily difficult to deal with antagonists on terms of equality. Even in making concessions they somehow find ways to affirm their primacy. Sometimes it is the challenger of such a power who misc: the issue first, Soldiers know this moment well. It is the point at which the will of one side prevails over that of the other. It is the key to war but the worst of all approaches to peace.

The second factor is that once blood has been shed, once people have died for a cause, there is a kind of emotional investment in war that can often tip the balance against a peace that seems to amend or diinish that cause.

The third factor is the global atmosphere. When powerful nations are ready to devote time, effort and money to the settlement of the quarrels of other countries, they can create a situation where it is bard to resist the general tendency toward peaceful resolutions. This is what s waxed and waned over the past five years as US attention, in particular, has wavered. The US engagement, after many wobbles, in Bosnia, Ireland and the Middle Fast has, for the moment, restored some

But it is the urge to dominate that most undermines peace. The lesson of recent peacemaking is that, initially, it succeeds only when such issues are avoided, as they were in the Norwegian-mediated talks between the Israelis and the PLO. The rub comes later, when one issue or auother can become pivotal in a strug-gle for pyschological ascendancy. In Palestinian statehood. In Bosnia, by war and therefore have a con-Bosnian statehood, in particular as it mun interest in peace, but they

peace process but there had been a period of quiescence which might have led in that direction, it is not the principle of one China but the question of who decides on the timing and form of reunitication.

There is a blurred and dangeror line between pursuing one's inter ests in peace negotiations and aiming for victories that east down the other side. There is always a tendency for war to go on by other means. The decommissioning issue n Ireland, for example, has no practical military significance. The ta get, rather, was IRA ideology, which maintains that they are in a state of war with the British regime and that their arms are legitimate. So what Britain sought was not an actual end to the capacity but the defeat of a concept.

The turning point for the IRA may therefore have come when the Mitchell report seemed to sustain the British line that IRA arms were illegal, rather than when John Major made his proposal for elections.

But even the concept may be a ess importance than the search for rway of forcing the other side into a efreat, a search which the IRA and the British have been conducting This urge to dominate way long ag identified in conflict theory as one of the reasons why conflicts go citical and why resolution efforts tall.

Hindsight shows that the persisof raising of the decoronissioning ssue was a mistake, and one which l ondon tried to back away from to late. It can of course be argued that Sinn Fein and the IRA should have greed to some nominal decommisioning. That would also be true but it amounts to saying that there have been two mistakes rather than one, and that this is always likely to happen when the issue of who dom nates is allowed to become central

1D powers with a tradition of thinking of themselves as the centre of the universe ace prone to a reflex of dominance The problem between China and Taiwan is not about the principle of Chinese unity, but about Beijing's demand for acts of submission to its will. The concept that China wasts to defeat is the one that says Talwan will decide when and if to make its commitment to one China a reality In the former Soviet Union, there is evident a Russian expectation of obe dience, or of some kind of featy, that makes the settlement of conflicts like Thechenia more difficult. The sucessful approach to peace means that he powerful have to moderate their pretensions while the weak have to mend their aspirations.

Peace theory rays that you ap proach settlement by sidelining is the old war questions of who is win ning and who is losing. Peace moves along, then, on an imperfect basis. dependent for quite a long time on the avoidance of at least some of the hard questions. Then, when they are looked at again, they may have changed, or the parties may have changed, which is the same thing.

The irony of many conflicts at the gle for pyschological ascendancy. In Ireland that issue is the decommissioning of arma. In the Middle East, Palestinian statebood In Rossia. affects war crimes. In the Taiwan carry on making war because it is Strait, where there is admittedly no easier than making peace.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

# The Washington Post

### Yeltsin Launches **Bid for Second Term**

Lee Hockstader in Yekaterinburg

N ELECTION contest that will shape Russia's post-A Communist future got under way last week as President Boris Yeltsin and Communist Party leader Gennady Zyuganov launched campaigns for president, offering starkly different visions of the country's economic and political order.

Yeltsin, 65, who has struggled with poor health and plummeting public support over the last year, said he was seeking a second term to prevent a reversal of Russia's move toward democracy and freemarket capitalism and to avert what he said was the threat of a civil war.

Zyuganov, 51, a former Communist Party bureaucrat who has called for the reversal of such reforms as the privatization of staterun industries, was nominated at a party congress in Moscow where booksellers peddled tracts on socialism and the memoirs of Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin.

The stakes for Yeltsin - and for Russia - in the June 16 election have been raised sharply by the resurgent and newly confident Russian Communist Party, which won a decisive victory in parliamentary elections last December by appealing to the nostalgia of the elderly and pledging to rebuild the Soviet Union, restore state control of the economy and a strong centra government.

Anti-Western nationalist Vladimir Zhirinovsky also did well, outpolling the lone pro-Yeltsin party and confounding the experts.

But the December results were merely a dress rehearsal for the more critical June presidential elections, in which Zhirinovsky, reform several others are also likely to run. Under Russia's 1993 constitution.

the president is a powerful figure who can govern with few checks from parliament. A victory in June would give the Communists an

opportunity to implement their plat-form, while a re-elected Yeltsin would have the possibility of continuing reforms in many areas even

Many of Yeltsin's allies in the reform initiatives he undertook in the first years of his presidency now believe he has effectively abandoned the cause of change and would himself be likely to move Russia toward more autocratic politics and a state-directed economy in a second term. But, as an unpopular underdog trying to stake out the political center, Yeltsin last week painted the choice between himself and the Communists in stark, even threatening colors.

Communist Party boss.

"Russia is again at a crossroads ne declared. "We cannot afford to repeat the tragic mistakes of 1917 when Russia was plunged into a cataclysmic civil warl and allow again a division of the country into Whites and Reds. On June 16 we will choose not only a president but

In declaring he will seek re-election, Yeltsin ignored his heart dis-ease, single-digit approval ratings and the pleas of his wife and liberal former allies that he not run. Though he promised in May 1992 that he would "absolutely" not seek a second term, no Kremlin leader in 1,000 years has voluntarily stepped aside to make way for a successor. And Yeltsin has signaled his own intentions for months by dumping unpopular liberals from his cabinet, promising billions of dollars in new social spending and warning darkly economist Grigory Yavlinsky and of the dangers of a Communist

without parliamentary support.

"There's no strong guarantee that the changes are irreversible." Yeltsin said after a full day of campaigning in this city in the Urals, vhere he spent the first 55 years of

our future life, the late of Russia."

Despite those warnings, many political analysts believe Yeltsin's andidacy — which almost certainly will contribute to a split in the re-



Market forces: The West has encouraged reforms that have fueled popular discontent

possible coalitions, it is hard to magine that the president will win," said Yegor Gaidar, a prominent economic reformer who was Yeltsin's first prime minister.

Other analysts believe Yeltsin can still parlay his unmatched political instincts and the fantastic patronage and power of his office into an upset victory. Indeed, many Russians beieve Yeltsin will remain in office no matter what — even if he or his Kremlin entourage must cancel or rig the elections to do so.

ANY prominent members at the Communist con-. ▼ ■ gress last week expressed concern that the party must broaden its base if it is to repeat its success in the recent parliamentary races. The Communists received 22.7 percent of the nationwide party vote in December and have by far the largest bloc in the lower house f Russia's parliament.

"Priority No. 1 must be to create a coalition," said Nikolai Ryzhkov, a former Soviet prime minister who heads a small faction allied with the

"No matter how you arrange the | Party joins this battle alone, it will Zyuganov, the party's nominee

lismissed Yeltsin as a "weak rival." But he complained that Yeltsin has lately been borrowing the Communists' domestic agenda by promising massive new subsidies to pensioners, families, workers and the military-industrial complex.

Yeltsin, in a half-dozen appear-

ances last week, contrasted himself with the Communists and reminded his audiences of the drudgery of daily life in the old Soviet Union.

lines for bread, sugar and other food," he said. "The system for which there is so much nostalgia totally exhausted itself. That's why we had to decide on radical economic steps at the start of 1992. "I favor reforms but not at any

price. I favor a correction of course but no turning back. I stand for a Russian policy based not on utopias and dogmas but on common sense."

But Yeltsin also made a number of statements that struck Russian listeners as odd or even outlandish. He said he had discovered about \$2.8 billion in previously unheard-of

funds to pay back wages owed to state enterprise workers by March. but he declined to name the source of the money. In another move bound to worry the International Monetary Fund, Russia's chief creditor, Yeltsin announced he had signed a decree to raise tariffs on imported goods in order to protect domestic producers.

In a rambling speech at the local Palace of Youth, he spoke in a croaky voice and departed from his prepared text in a number of improvisations. He misstated the name of the regional governor, suggested a mass matchmaking that would pair "How quickly we forgot the long off unmarried young women in local factories with single army recruits on local military bases, and he proposed that two top Chechen rebel

> Also, in a move some observers charged was an attempt to intimidate the media on the eve of the campaign, Yeltsin accused Russia's state television and radio of peddling "a batch of lies" in its news reports and fired its chief, Oleg Poptsov. RTR, as the state television company is known, has reported critically on Yeltsin's policy in Chechuya.

eaders be arrested and shot.

### Calmez Vous, Buchanan Enjoys Soufflé

COMMENT Jim Hoagland

THER PHILIPPE, calm down, mon vieux. Your fax the morning after the Iowa primary raises as many impertinent questions about American politics as pertinent ones. You French have to accept that we by being different than you are, especially in politics.

You quite rightly want to know what and who Pat Buchanan represents. But did you have to dredge up all that stuff about how we have gone from a peanut farmer to a movie actor as recent presidents, to ask in horror how we can now be considering a newspaper columnist be the perfect president by refusing turned talk show host who has to run. A demi-billionaire businessnever held elective office? You went over the top, mon ami.

Americans do not hate politics, They hate politicians. You train your leaders through electoral politics.

start as mayors, serve as congressmen, become ministers in the government and often prime minister before running for the top job. You made François Mitterrand and lacques Chirac each run three times before electing them president. The French want to be sure that you really want the job before they will vote for you, as a British colleague notes.

Our primary electorates and media see cause for suspicion in such experience. Look at the drama and mystery of this faddish season: A dashing but reluctant Army general is briefly the man with all the answers, which he refuses to tell. He confirms for many that he would man also lacking elective experience becomes the center of the next political fantasy du jour, which lasts an entire month.

Steve Forbes' campaign may

We humiliate ours. Your presidents | have crashed and burned in Iowa. As long as Forbes was not seen as a real candidate, he had a chance. But the millions spent on advertising and the heavy exposure on televi sion news and talk shows made him look to Iowa's Republicans like, well, an ambitious politician. Fatale in this campaign.

And look at poor Bob Dole. This narrow a win in his home region adds credibility to an idea experienced Democratic Party operatives are spreading with great glee: Dole is looking like Mondale, 1984. That ls, the Senate majority leader is going to get chipped and nicked (when he is not upset) all along the primary road to this summer's nominating convention. Dole has the support, organization and money to stagger home the winner; but he will have been bled dry before the autumn campaign against an incum-

nario. A much riskier one takes souffles for dessert really be an Frenchman.

shape in the wake of Iowa: The Republican convention may begin without any candidate having enough delegates to win the nomination on the first ballot. The candidate field could break up like a Scud warhead hitting the atmosphere, leaving the way clear for the still coy, still reluctant general to be drafted on his terms.

Well, you did ask me, in rather desperate terms, if there is still any Republican alternative to l'isolationist.

First, you must not overreact to Buchanan's ferocious campai: xenophobia. You already know that in 1992 he drove to the rallies where he denounced foreign imports in his own Mercedes. Yes, he changed cars when that got into the press. But what you probably missed was the Associated Press's poll of Republican candidates this year on their favorite desserts. Dole, Lugar and the others responded with apple pie and hot fudge sundaes. Buchanan's favorite according to bent facing no primary challenge.

That's the Dems' wishful sce a man who prefers orange liqueur

enemy of the French people and international harmony? I think not. Calmez vous, mes amis.

Actually, Buchanan's strong showing in Louisiana and Iowa suggests that similar political currents are surfacing in America and France. In GOP primaries we are seeing what you saw in the strikes and protests in the streets of Paris two months ago: discontent and insecurity over poorly explained changes in the world economy that threaten jobs, and careers, locally.

same anxieties about "globalization" that sparked the French protests. He proposes protectionism and disengagement from the world as answers to these complicated problems. That makes him our favorite fantasy nonpolitician of the moment.

You ask when the Republicans. who have won seven of the last 11 presidential elections, decided to copy the Democrats by subjecting their candidates to primaries domithe AP? Grand Marnier soufflé. Can | nated by extremist arguments. What a rude question — even for a



Molly Moore in Mexico City

ZAPATISTA rebels last week signed the first phase of a peace accord with the Mexican government that eventually could end their two-year-old guerrilla conflict.

The agreement on indigenous Indian rights is the first of six almed at reestablishing peace in the troubled southern state of Chiapas. It is considered a breakthrough that could lead to more agreements which, added together, could end a standoff beginning New Year's Day 1994 when the bloody insurrection broke

"Thousands . . . of men and women were consulted," said Zapatista commander Tacho, reading a statement from the Zapatista National Liberation Army in the central square of the Chiapas mountain town of San Andres Larrainzar. "Ninety-six percent spoke in favor of accepting and formalizing with the supreme government the minimum accords, the first in this long process of con-

OUR MONTHS after top-

pling Lane Kirkland and the entrenched leadership of the

AFL-CIO, new chief John Sweeney

and his political supporters have an

ambitious plan to restore organized

labor's political and economic clout

by building a social movement out-side of Washington.

Using a populist, grass-roots approach to politics and organizing,

Sweeney hopes to revive an Institu-

tion long in decline and struggling to deal with the lorces of global

competition and technological

Sweeney, with the backing of

some of the federation's largest

unions, is starting with a top-to-

bottom reorganization at the AFL-CiO's marble and granite head-

quarters across Lassyette Square

from the White House. Several

members of the longtime staff are

In their place is a cadre of fortysomething activists, many of

whom came to the labor movement

from a background in civil rights,

community and anti-war organizing.

crease political spending sevenfold.

to \$35 million this year, and has targeted 75 congressional districts for

large, get-out-the-vote efforts. It also

plans to raise another \$20 million

Part of that money will go into

recruiting 1,000 young activists

from college campuses and union

halls for what they'll call Union

Summer, a community and labor or-

ganizing campaign modeled after

the civil-rights movement's free-

for organizing new members.

The Sweeney team is refocusing.

on their way out,

Frank Swoboda and

Martha M. Hamilton



Marcos, the Zapatista leader, with Indian villagers in a picture taken a year ago during peace negotiations

months debating details of the first accord, which includes proposals or constitutional amendments givng Mexico's estimated 15 million ndians special rights based on ancient traditions and culture. These first proposals, however, do not address the most controversial indigenous rights issues of land control

Tacho said rebel supporters pushing demands for greater land for informal polls of the residents,

the labor federation's annual winter

meeting. Sweeney doesn't know

where next year's meeting will be,

but he's pushing for something de-cidedly less opulent and in a region

where labor is running an organiz-

The forces at work in the new

age of Adam Smith are just too

nowerful for the union movement,"

said Leo Troy, an economiat at Rut-gers University in Newark. "To put

bluntly, you have competition con-

fronting a monopoly. Competition

undermines a monopoly, and com-

petitive forces are increasing. What-ever the union movement decides to

do, I don't think it will make much

Sweeney himself warned last

spring that unions have become "ir-

elevant" to the vast majority of

American workers. But others

seen in decades," said Harley

Shaiken, a longtime commentator on labor at the University of Cali-

fornia at Berkeley, "That doesn't

change the enormous obstacles that

more than a third of the work force

half a century ago.
But even when public-sector

members are included, unions rep-

resent a bare 14.9 percent of all

There's a sense of optimism and

aren't willing to write labor off.

difference."

going to win."

organized labor to save itself.

reforms and more autonomy for Mexico's Indians, long neglected by the government.

It has remained intransigent on land reform issues, particularly demanda that it give up claims to mineral and oil deposits under Indian-owned land.

Negotiators accepted the details of the first accord during meetings asked their leaders to continue the proposals back to their villages

the Congress of Industrial Organi-

Back then labor was powerful not

only in politics and the workplace.

sion of union organizing in the

nation's basic manufacturing indus-

tries in the mid-1930s had helped

propel a largely unskilled, blue-col-

ar work force into the economic

Industrial unions had helped cre-

ate good wages, lob security and such benefits as pensions, paid va-

cations and health insurance that

are taken for granted by many work-

But in recent decades, the na

tion's economic base shifted away

from manufacturing to service and

high-tech industries in which

unions were weak. Labor leader-

ship, with some notable exceptions.

was slow to catch up to those

changes and to adjust to the needs

of women, Asians, Hispanics and

ODAY, AFL-CIO member

barely more than the 12.6 million

ment outside the Capital Beltway

the Labor Department show a here in Washington-think. What we members in Oregon who supported

sents 10.4 percent of the nation's private-sector workers, down from Image, resources, apending and policial races, the AKLCIO will also

itics. "The clout can't come from the benefit from the contribution of

Statistics released this month by | and into the streets. "We're up to | from an activist base of 300 union

ship stands at 13 million, the lowest level since 1969 and

middle class.

ers today.

labor faces. What's different is that | members it had when the federation

going to put up a strong fight. The answer, say the new union

There's no certainty that labor is activists, is to take the labor move-

continuing decline in union mem- need now is a grass-roots base,"

bership. Organized labor now repre- said a Sweeney aide.

mostly peasant farmers, affected by

Last week's round of peace talks got off to a shaky start when Zapatista negotiators, under escort by the International Committee of the Red Cross, showed up 10 hours late for the first meeting, much to the annoyance of government repre-

Based on the first round of accords, many observers say the

most tenacious armed movements. The disarmament and encamp ment of guerrillas was barely half o the predicted number but it constituted the most important step man-American Federation of Labor and | Bensinger, 45, an activist with 15 years organizing experience, the department will first have to persuade

Following independence in 1975

After the end of the Cold War, the

The demobilization of UNITA

UNITA claims to have about

money," said the AFL-CIO's new po-litical director, Steve Rosenthal, 43, a former top aide to Labor Secretary Robert B. Reich. "The centerpiece is to be "seamless from legislation to routile and the goal is to be "seamless from legislation" counted 14,000 guerrillas entering the campa.) It's a deliberately different image from Bal Harbour, Florida, where labor leaders this week will have their last chance to lounge in pool-side cabanas at a resort hotel during to percent of all the policy of the labor leaders their last chance to lounge in pool-side cabanas at a resort hotel during to percent of all the shortfall, the United to politica. Sweeney says critica should wait until the end of his first term before activist base. At the heart of change in the AFL.

It is a trade association for unions in politically the notion of rebuilding our activist base. Sweeney says critically the notion of rebuilding our activist base. Sweeney says critically the notion of rebuilding our activist base. Sweeney says critically the notion of rebuilding our activist base. Sweeney says critically the notion of rebuilding our activist base. Sweeney says critically the notion of rebuilding our activist base. Sweeney says critically the notion of rebuilding our activist base. Sweeney says critically the notion of rebuilding our activist base. Sweeney says critically the notion of rebuilding our activist base. Sweeney says critically the notion of rebuilding our activist base. Sweeney says critically the notion of rebuilding our activist base. Sweeney says critically the notion of rebuilding our activist base. Sweeney says critically the notion of rebuilding our activist base. Sweeney says critically the notion of rebuilding our activist base. Sweeney says critically the notion of rebuilding our activist base. Sweeney says critically the notion of rebuilding our activist base. Sweeney says critically the notion of rebuilding our activist base. Sweeney says critically the notion of rebuilding our activists base. Sweeney says critically the notion of rebuilding our activists base. Sweeney says critically the notion of rebuilding our activists base. Sweeney says critically the notion of rebuilding our activists base. Sweeney says critically the notion of rebuilding our activists base. Sweeney says critically the notion o Despite the shortfall, the United

**Labor Looks to Grow From Grass Roots** 

the majority of the AFL-CIO's 78

member unions that organizing is

The new approach to organizing.

which draws on the tactics of the

late community organizer Saul Alin-

sky, will be on display during this Union Summer. Alinsky organized

the economically oppressed in cities

across America with tactics that in-

cluded sending black picketers to

the auburban homes of white slum-

lords and dropping dead rats on the steps of city hall.

The AFLCIO hopes to build a

cadre of activists across the country

to register voters, work for legisla-

tion and organize workers at job sites. "Our members are particl-

nants in a broader community. Cons-

munity issues are labor issues, too,"

Bensinger sees attracting young

ective organization. It is also the

people to the cause as the key to ef-

seed of the budding social move-

The AFL-CIO is coordinating

some of its political organizing

efforts with such groups as abor-

tion-rights advocates and environ-

month to help elect Rep. Ron Wyden to the Senate seat vacated

by Bob Packwood, Wyden benefited

his candidacy. In addition to the \$35 million the

ment Sweeney wants to build.

the key to their future.

dated by the November 1994 Lusaka peace accord - which ended the conflict between UNITA. led by Jonas Savimbi, and the government of President Jose Eduardo tios Santos's Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

Angola became a Cold War battle ground. The United States gave covert and official assistance to UNITA, complementing the troops and aid the rebel movement re ceived from South Africa. The MPLA's patrons were the Soviet Union and Cuba, which sent thou sands of troops.

battle here became a raw fight for national power, killing a thousand people a day at the war's height, pro ducing 3 million refugees and causing an estimated 70,000 Angolans to lose limbs as the result of mine explosions. The war virtually rulned the economy of sub-Saharan Africa's iourth-largest market, with UNITA using the dismond mines to finance its struggle and the MPLA using oi

roops was achieved with difficulty. hard up against a February 8 dead line for a U.N. review of its Angolan mandate. In a visit with Savimbi last month, U.S. Ambassador, to the United Nations Madeleine Albrigh extracted a commitment from him to send 16,500 troops to quartering amps before the deadline.

70,000 troops, although a Western diplomat said the number probabl is half that Still, barely 9,000 showed up at the quartering sites agency reported from Luanda that by Sunday, the United Nations had

### **Mistrust** Dogs Angola Cease-Fire

Lynne Duke in Negage

N THIS land ravaged by combat pence looks a lot like war. A peace accord signed 15 months ago brought 20 years of civil war to an official end, but the cease-fire is rid dled with bullet holes. Encamped in strategic positions, government and rebel forces continue a tense face off. Arms keep flowing through this southwestern African country's porous borders.

But amid this mistrust and chaos there stood Alberto Jose Carloso earlier this month, part of a tattered contingent of nervous rebels of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) who emerged from the bush and laid down their guns here at Negage, 150 miles northeast of Luanda, the capital. Finished with the fighting that took seven of his years, Car loso, 20, was one of about 9,000 UNITA guerrillas who had turned themselves in at four camps around the country by this month's dead line - in what could signal the be ginning of the end of one of Africa's

n "arson and sabotage"

But even if such proof exists which is doubtful - it will not alter the fact that the Khalifas' troubles are of their own making.

whose 800 menfolk abuse political power to muscle in on state and private enterprise. On this archipelago of only 260 square miles, they have

Not one Arab government has questioned Bahrain's indictment of Iran as the sole cause of the grow-ing unrest. The Gulf Co-operation Council - stx conservative monar chies led by Saudi Arabia - formally endorses that view.

It is not just the Arabs. The

One discordant note comes from the Gulf's only parliament Kuwait, where eight deputies say Bahraints are entitled to a parlia-

It has become unfashionable t praise Kuwait, or to celebrate the reasons for its US-led hiberation Yet the US should be pleased that, thanks to its sacrifice, Kuwalti MPs are still free to denounce the Khall-fas "medieval mentality", It seems the US, obsessed by Iran, is less free itself

### **INTERNATIONAL NEWS**

### Spectre of Iran haunts Drug abuse is rising as rebel commanders supply

David Hirst

Bahrain

**GUARDIAN WEEKLY** 

/IRTUALLY every Arab regime V that counts has rallied to Shelkh Issa bin Salman al-Khalifa. The ruler since 1961 of the tiny island state of Bahrain ia in trouble again.

The Khalifas are orthodox Sunni Muslims. Most of their subjects are Shi'ites, and poorer than the Sunnia. Of late, they have been disproportionately unemployed. They cannot serve in the army or police, and discrimination is growing in other state departments.

They are the natural breeding ground for opposition. They tend to look for support to Shi'ite Iran which once laid claim to the island.

Shi'ite clergy, headed by Abd al-Amir al-Jamri, are leading the latest unrest, which erupted after the banning of political sermons in mosques in mid-January.

The government says it has ar rested about 600 people - the opposition says 2,000 — including Sheikh Jamri and a leading Sunni lawyer, Ahmad Shemlan. They are accused of inciting or participating

Three young men "confessed" to being trained by "terrorist elements abroad". Iran is said to mastermind this "foreign conspiracy" Bahrainis "sitting abroad without national roots" convey its orders to agents within. The state security court, officials say, will furnish irrefutable evidence of Iranian involvement.

The Khalifas are a growing tribe grabbed about half the land, including entire islands, for themselves.

They built the opulent \$90 million

Merklien Hotel with a loan from social security, funds, which they have not repaid. Shi ite unemploy-ment is so high because princes earn "royallies" from Asians often unemployed — whom they import as workers.

That the recurrent dissent stems from a broad-based national move-ment has never been clearer than now. This phase began when Shelkh Jamri, a former deputy. helped muster 25,000 signatures for a petition demanding, a return to

United States, too, sees "Iranian elements" as the villains.

### Fighting Liberia's other war

child soldiers, writes Cindy Shiner in Monrovia

OLONEL Abraham Kromah | Interpol in Monrovia, He said his brother was billed to be and his brother was billed to be and his brother was billed to be a said his brother was believed to be a said his brother was is fighting his own private war in Liberia's six-year civil conflict. His enemies are the druga ravaging the country's youth, a scourge he believes led to the death of his 14-year-old brother, who was forced to join a rebel army.

"The rest [three other siblings] died at the hands of child soldiers who never knew what they were doing because they were under the influence of drugs," said Col Kromah, aged 30, deputy director of the national police and the head of

Jersey based company.

drugs provided by his commanders Before the war broke out in De

cember 1989, Liberia was used as a transit point for drugs passed from south-east Asia through Nigeria. But now the country has become a drug consumer, adding another problem to poverty and civil strife. The United Nations drug control

programme is aware of the menace.

opened an office in Liberia last

said Edward Grant, a psychiatrist at the John F Kennedy Memorial Hospital in Monrovia, who counsels and treats drug-addicted youths.
"You can get heroin, you can get

Dr Grant said the number of hard-core drug addicts in the capital had doubled during the war and that he had treated at least 75 youngsters for withdrawal symptoms or drug-induced psychosis.

Col Kromah said his office was

vorking with Nigeria's national drug law enforcement agency in trying to stem the flow of narcotics through Monrovia. But he feared a rise in the influx of drugs because direct flights from Nigeria had resumed on ADC airlines, dubbed here African Drugs Carrier. Nigeria is Africa's largest trans-

shipment point for hard drugs from south-east Asia. Col Kromah said his office seized nearly \$2.5 million worth of heroin and cocaine last year - nearly all of it from Nigeria. Nigerian peacekeepers in Liberia have been implicated.

"We are quite aware of these problems, but just how much we are able to do about it depends on our resource capacity," said Joseph Jallah, who heads Liberia's national interministerial drug committee.

Fighting the drug trade has never been a priority for Liberia's governments. An interim administration signed international conventions on drug trafficking last year, and Mr Jallah said he hoped to toughen legislation against drug traffickers.

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Address:

many sayraters from

foreign flag of convenience.

Thursday last week when the

147,000-tonne ship, managed

by Glasgow company Acomarit (UK) Ltd and carrying a pilot,

went aground at the entrance to

Milford Haven where Texaco has

An inquiry has been launched

by the Department of Transport

into why tough measures drawn

up for ships in British waters

after the Braer disaster three

years ago failed to prevent the

link to asthma

WOMEN who use gas cookers
are twice as likely to suffer

asthma-like symptoms such as breathlessness and wheezing than

those who use electric appliances, writes Chris Mihill. Up to half the

ymptoms could be reduced if peo-

The products given off by gas

particularly nitrogen dioxide, could damage the lining of the alrways.

making people more vulnerable to

Deborah Jarvis and colleague

from the department of public

health medicine at St Thomas's hos-

pital, London, say more research is

needed but in theory the prevalence

of wheezing and breathlessness in

women could be cut by between

and 48 per cent if cooking with gas

world would be severely affected

espiratory problems.

was abandoned.

inding is confined to women.

abandoned gas cookers. The

Milford Haven incident.

Gas cooker

an oil refinery. The reasons for

the accident are still not clear.

The incident began at 8pm on

### **Economy gives Major** a much needed boost

the Government's morale might have been boosted by the latest set of economic indicators. Unemployment fell in January by a surprising 29,300 to to 2.2 million — the lowest level for five years. And the underlying annual rate of inflation fell from 3 per cent to 2.8 per cent, which pointed to a further cut in interest rates in the near future.

The Governor of the Bank of England, Eddie George, has for nearly a year been (unsuccessfully) demanding higher interest rates because the Bank has been forecasting a growth in inflation. But it now concedes that the Government has a good chance of hitting its inflation target of 2.5 per cent or less in two years' time, so Mr George is unlikely to resist further modest cuts which could bring base rates down to around 5.5 per cent by the end of

At 7.9 per cent, Britain now has one of the lowest unemployment rates in Europe, but many economists were puzzled by the sharpness of the January fall, which seemed inconsistent with what is undoubtedly a slowing economy.

Just as the IRA resumed its bombing campaign, the figures the peace dividend has meant to Northern freland, where unemployment has fallen to its lowest level for

Will Hutton, page 19

NEW DRUG, said to be capable of halving the rejection rate of transplanted organs, was hailed as the most exciting development in transplant medicine for a decade. But the use of CellCept, manufactured by Roche, will cost about £3,000 a year for each patient treated, and its claimed economic benefits will have to be justified to the National Health Service.

One in 10 organ transplants fail in the first few weeks because of rejec-tion problems. And about half of all kidney transplants fall in the first 10 years for the same reason. Specialists argue that CellCept could lead to significant savings over the longer term, as well as saving lives by preventing kidney patients needing second or third transplants or returning to expensive dialysis.

Studies on kidney transplant patients in the US, Europe, Canada and Australia suggest that the use of CellCept can halve the frequency of rejection problems. And, although studies have mostly involved kidneys, researchers say the drug should also prevent rejection of other organs such as the heart, lungs and liver.

ORE CONTROVERSIAL re-search claims — that radioactive radon gas in the air could be the link behind high-voltage power pylons and an increased risk of cancer - were welcomed as "a major breakthrough" by lawyers who have been trying to sue electricity generating companies over childhood

A research team at Bristol university, led by Professor Dennis Henshaw, suggests that radon, which is naturally present in the atmosphere,

AD THE FURORE over the Scott report not got in the way, lie attracted by electromagnetic fields in the vicinity of pylons and fields in the vicinity of pylons and domestic electrical equipment. The National Radiological Protection Board, which has dismissed claims of risks from living under high-voltage power lines, also dismissed the Bristol research findings as "im-

more cautiously, said that while the Bristol research did not prove that electromagnetic fields caused leukaemia, it did point to the need for further investigation into the effects of electromagnetic fields and radon.

N EARLY 9 per cent of applica-tions from UK residents wanting places at university this autumn are from students of Asian ethnic origin - mainly Indian and Pakistani - according to the college and universities admissions service. Another 3.1 per cent are from black students. In each case, the figure is about double the proportion of such ethnic categories in the population as a whole.

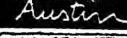
Applications from UK residents are down 2 per cent on last year. abolition of allowances to mature

some Dickensian ideas for saving money. In Liverpool, which needs to save £38.5 million to stay within government imposed spending limits, officials dreamed up a scheme to cut the size of school meals by 10 per cent to save £264,000 a year.

quantities of meals until 2000.

A slightly more caring touch was offered by a hospital authority in north Cumbria, one of the areas nardest hit by recent snows, when it decided that nurses who failed to make it to work through the snowdrifts could choose between losing a day's pay or a day's holiday.

sonal circumstances."



HOWABOUT TWO WEEKS IN A LNERPOOL SCHOOL?



The Leukaemla Research Council.

Disaster alert after huge oil spill RUDE OIL was still spilling from the ruptured huli of the deserted supertanker, Sea Empress, on Tuesday as a flotilia of tugs

struggled to prevent the ship breaking up off the Welsh coast,

Laden with 140,000 tonnes

North Sea crude oil, the ship

was drifting bow down in ex-

posed waters at the entrance to

Coastguards said that about

had probably leaked from the

damaged hull, spreading oil along the Pembrokeshire coast.

AN EXTRAORDINARY political truce was declared between the

Conservative and Labour parties

this week when they agreed to pass

the thorny problems of university

expansion to a national committee of

inquiry under Sir Ron Dearing, with

a recommendation that he should

Gillian Shephard, the Education

and Employment Secretary, sald she wanted to take a bipartisan

approach to issues affecting "the

future of our nation and its eco-

nomic development". David Blunkett, her Labou

shadow, said he welcomed the "bi-

partisan initiative on this vital issue".

However, both are expected to

draw political advantage from an in-

quiry which may allow them to post-

pone difficult decisions on whether

the traditional student grant should

be abolished in favour of loans re- ture labour market".

report after the general election.

one third of Sea Empress's cargo

writes Owen Bowcott.

mainly due to the Government's

BELT-TIGHTENING measures by public authorities produced

The clumsily-worded plan, which suggested that the smaller portions would only affect poorer children who get free meals, had to be abandoned because the city has contractually agreed the standards and

An official explained that ar agreement was being reached between managers and staff on the options available, "with the emphasis on giving staff the opportunity to choose which best suits their per-

Global warming disaster 'imminent' John Videl NE of Britain's leading scientists warned last week that it might already be too late to prevent some of the world's most densely populated regions being drowned within a century by the sea level rise brought on by the burning of fossil fuels. Southern China, Bangladesh and Egypt face massive loss of

environmental refugees, Sir John Houghton, chairman of the Royal Commission on Environmental ion on Environmental Pollution, told the Royal Society.

Sea Empress, its bow submerged, drifts across the entrance of Milford Haven estuary

Meanwhile, salvage experts were working on crisis plans to

and a massive clean-up opera-

tion was under way, with planes

spraying the spreading oil slick.
A colony of 3,000 rare green

The grounding of the tanker beneath St Ann's Head is the

second accident in almost ex-

actly the same spot in the past

The tanker has no protective

outer hull and was manned by a

payable through a supplementary

rate of income tax or national in

Mrs Shephard consulted Mr

Blunkett about who should head the

inquiry, and he is expecting to be al-

lowed to nominate members of the

Sir Ron, chairman of the School

Curriculum and Assessment Authority, has been asked "to make

recommendations on how the

shape, structure, size and funding of

higher education, including support

for students, should develop to meet

the needs of the UK over the next

Proposals should be "within the

constraints of affordability". There

should be "maximum participation

in initial higher education by young

and mature students and lifetime

learning by adults, insofar as this

can be shown to be consistent with

the needs of the nation and the fu-

surance after graduation.

rockpool starfish has been

wiped out by the spillage, ac-

cording to wildlife groups in

West Walcs.

four months.

Truce on Dearing inquiry

avert an environmental disaster,

In one of the most pessimistic updates yet on the likely impact of global warming, Sir John, chairman of the UN's Interovernmental Panel on Climate Change and a professor of atmospheric physics at Oxford university, further warned that land and the spectre of millions of | water supplies throughout the

Food supplies might not be affected by global warming, "Some regions may be able to grow more, others less, but the distribution of production will change because of changing water availability. The regions likely to be adversely af fected are those in developing countries in the sub-tropics with rapidly growing populations.

There may be large numbers of environmental refugees."

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

### Class struggle

THE FUTURE of Britain's most successful Muslim school, founded by Yusuf Islam, the former pop singer Cat successful Muslim school premises and has been subsidising Islamia fees to the tune of £250,000 a year. Saudi Arabia donated £1.5 million to buy fourties. Islam, the former pop singer Cat Stevens, is under threat because Saudi Arabia has withdrawn 85 per cent of its annual cash subsidy, writes Seumas Milne.

Two months ago, the Saudi ambassador in London complained in a private letter to defence minister Prince Sultan of Mr Islant's "insulting" criticisms of the Saudi regime.

These were said to include an appeal for the release of imprisoned supporters of the dissident Mohammed al-Mas'ari, who is fighting a British deportation order to Dominica

Recently, children were sent home from the 300-strong Islamia School in Brent, north London, because the heating system broke down. Some 10-year-olds had to stand during science lessons because of a shortage of chairs. But with Islamia's girls' sec-

ondary topping the league tables in

WHY IS it that music and literature can sometimes

move us, literally, to tears, but

paintings and sculpture never

WITH music and literature, time is an intrinsic part of the

work of art: there is a beginning, duration and an end. Emotional ten-

sion can be induced and cathartic

What sets painting and sculpture

apart from other art forms is the ar-

bitrary time element. A painting may

create visual tension, but to look at

an abstract painting is akin to read-ing randomly selected sentences in a book: it is highly unlikely to func-

tion as drama.

The incidental time aspect of a

painting creates another problem.

You know when you've heard the

music, read the book, seen the film. But at what point can you say you have seen the painting? When you've glanced at it? When you've

read the signature? When you've

read the title label? In a gallery the

time you spend looking at a particu-lar painting might be determined by

mean you haven't given it enough

time - or that it simply has no

meaning (to you). But how to tell the

difference? — Thomas Eisl, London

CAN anyone explain why what appear to be fleurs-de-lis

THE FLAG of Bosnia-Herze-

govina is white with a blue shield

in the centre charged with six gold

stripe. This shield is the arms of the

Kotromanic family who ruled Bosnia

before it was taken into the Turkish

Empire. During much of this period Bosnia was a dependency of Hungary. Stjepan Kotromanic became ban (or governor) of Bosnia in 1314 and his son Stjepan Tyrko became

form part of the Bosnian flag?

release becomes possible.

Brent, there is still a walting list of

Notes & Queries Joseph Harker

ebrations of the kingdom's national day on September 23 last year.

nasty. This was itself a collateral of the French royal family — hence the

fleurs-de-lis. The Bosnian dynasty

In 1991 the new parliament de-

cided that the Kotromanic arms had

the best claim for resurrection, al-

though its exact colours were un-

known. However, golden lilies on

blue, like those of France, seemed

logical. The group also noted that

there is a unique subspecies of lily

found on Mount Igman, Lilium bosni-

acum g-beck, which they proposed as

a symbol of peace, and suggested it should be used as the finial of

flagstaffs. — (Dr) William Cramp-

ton, Director, Flag Institute, Chester

lasted until 1463.

building and had been donating around £150,000 a year to help plug the gap between the school's annual £450,000 fee income and its £750,000

This year, donations from Saudi Arabia - usually made during the month of Ramadan - have dropped to around £25,000. The cut appears to be the direct result of the letter from the Saudi ambassador. Ghazi al-Gusaibi - leaked to the Guardian last December - calling on Saudi Arabia's powerful defence minister not to give Yusuf Islam any further help until we have evidence that his views are changing". As well as his embarrassing intervention on behalf of Saudi dissidents - in fact, Mr Islam's private letter merely expressed concern and asked for information — the former musician was also accused of opposing the 1991

Speaking in his office at Islamia



Yusuf Islam . . . Muslim schools have to go with a begging bowl to

governors, Yusuf Islam defended the costly decision to raise the imprisonment of Professor al-Mas'ari's supporters and called the decision to deport the Saudi exile "an ominous turn".

"We try to be unbiased," he said. "but if I was locked up I hope some-

Letter from Australia Janet Riddell

MACQUARIE ISLAND, South Pacific Ocean: At 80-90cm tall, Aptenodytes patagonica is the second largest penguin, and it is also the most beautiful. King Penguins' heads and necks are breathtaking, and they seem to know it, flaunting them to each other in their displays. Their long straight bills are black and orange, and their otherwise black heads have striking orange patches on each side. The colour extends down the sides of the neck to nearly meet under the

Diary

**Jeremy Smith** 

chin, then spreads out over the throat in a widening orange neck tie merging through yellow with the white of the breast. The back of the neck is blue-grey, with a fine, black line separating it from the orange throat. They are awesomely magnificent birds. There are lots of them on

**FEATURES** 25

A Country

Macquarie Island, about threequarters of a million, I'm told. At the station they are familiar neighbours at this time of year, though many do not look their best as they are moulting. Normally they stay at sea for so long that when they first come ashore goose barnacles are attached to their stumpy grey

near the beaches.

Y FATHER saw his family only once after that, when I turned 15 and grew rebellious and daily declared my; intention to shake off the dust of this place and move on. "It's your grandfather's 75th birthday. I suppose I'd better take you to meet him," was all he said.

Widowed years before, Grandpa had retired in the last place on the picker's run, Murray Bridge, in greener country, near Adelaide, and sought solace with a retired lady of sufficient means to own a cottage. We left early and drove too, fast through the morning to miss the worst of the heat and the wind that would blow up the red dust. But still we were too late. Grandpa was already laid out in the front room when we got there. I remember he had a smile on his face, just like mallee trees, a tin shed and a Tele | Dad's, sort of knowing, accepting -

At the end of the road

# E BURIED my father in hot autumn sunshine in South Australia's River-bringing coins and listened in case

land, near a gum tree clump outside the small settlement of Renmark. Standing by the graveside I felt my patent black city shoes sink into the soft sand and when I emptied the traditional first clump of soil over the coffin, it trickled through my fingers. Here soil is not solid but fine red dust. Rain rarely comes. The climate is so dry I like to think Dad may lie preserved and undisturbed for as long as the pharaohs. Last-century British pioneers, the

Chaffey Brothers, saw this place of

constant sunshine by the Murray,

second longest river in Australia

and realised if only it would rain it

could be Paradise. They introduced

irrigation systems to bring the

water to the soil, allowing genera-tions of settlers — first the British,

then Italians, Greeks, Turks - to

the salt levels so that much of

You can reach Renmark by long

straight bitumen road, eight hours north of Melhourpe including pit

stops. But I flew in a conventional

50-scater to the provincial city of Mildura, then illegally hitched a lift across the Victoria State border in

the back of the two-seater mail

plane. It was my father's 75th birth-day and I was in a hurry.

The day before, he telephoned

and told me he was going to die and, locked into his provider role until

the end, he'd hidden \$1,000 in small

notes in his sock drawer "to tide you

over till probate". I counted the min-

utes in the mail van and my small daughter huddled around the Aus-

tralia Post bag, seduced from grief

and air sickness by the sight of the

wide silver river snaking through red cliffs just 50 feet below.......

Dumped at the airstrip — literally a cleared strip between stunted

Paradise is now wasteland.

WHY DO the cockroaches in our bathroom always die on their backs?

BECAUSE their lungs are loso my pest control man says. -Janet Meaburn, Charleston, South Carolina, USA grow grapes and oranges, peaches and olives. Unwittingly their toil lowered the water table and raised

### Any answers? what else there is to look at, who you are with, how crowded it is etc. Not responding to a painting might

WHAT'S the point of having your cake if you are not able to eat it? - Geardid Cassidy, Glasnevin, Dublin

N.JERSEY, information signs are written in Portuguese as well as English, Why? -- Ben Ramm, Heaton Mersey, Cheshire

N Leonardo da Vinci's The Last Supper there is an extra. arm which does not belong to, any of the disciples. It is holding a knife and appears behind the figure reputed to be Judas. Why is the arm there? Is there any explanation, apart from a crude symbolism of betrayal? — Ela Ginalska, London

Answers should be e-mailed to king, by arrangement with Hungary, in 1377. It is thought that the arms relate to those of Hungary, which at that time was ruled by the Anjou dyroo. I cursed my oversight in not bringing coins and listened in case the pay phone should ring for me. We were saved by Roma, the taxi driver who also drives the ambulance. "Knew you'd be coming in," she announced. "I took your dad

wishing for your brother what you

He said the UK government had put Britain's 44 Muslim schools in a

position where they had to "go with

begging bowl to more affluent

Muslim countries" rather than fund-

wish for yourself."

away this morning." He would have been pleased. Small-town telepathy and a sense of belonging were what kept him in this place. Sixty years before, he told me once, he decided not to be like his father, an itinerant fruit picker who carted his children from

town to town.

At 15 he declared his father should settle down and become respectable. The family happened to be in Renmark, and so this is where my father settled and married my mother, who was similarly disen-chanted with her father, a member of the International Workers of the World.: He ran a commune just up river until comradeship collapsed because the water pump broke down and the government reneged

com booth - we stood by the wire | and expecting.

tails. They constantly preen themwhich blow in the wind to form drifts in the lea of rocks and build ings. If you sit down near them they will walk up to investigate. even giving you little exploratory nips. You can gaze straight into their dark brown eyes, and wonder what thoughts and memories might lie behind them. Not a lot of thought probably:

they don't give the impression of intelligence. They were sadly easy to catch early this century when thousands upon thousands were slaughtered for their oil. The unfortunate birds were rounded up, killed, then boiled down in "digesters", which still remain as large rusted cylinders

An eroding bank close to the station reveals layers of King Penguin bones, dated at several housand years old, marking this as a breeding site over hundreds of generations until their extermination in the digesters. Fortunately, another large colony to the south was exploited less completely, and enough birds survived for that population to recover. In fact, they have now quite run out of suitable real estate, and are gradually establishing satellite colonies on suitable

beaches up the coast. . .

A few days ago chicks were reported near the station, and I walked down to check for myself. Sure enough, in the middle of a hundred or so Kings just standing or lying about, there were five more purposeful birds with brood pouches extended. over their black, upturned toes. Protruding portions of two black chicks were visible, a large fluffy bottom with two extend and a small saurian head. I will keep an eye on their fortunes. It is exciting to be witnessing the first etep in the renaissance of what was, and may be again, a vast-breeding aggregation of the

world's most gorgeous penguin.



### The ice maiden cometh

Adrian Searle

HAT, jokes Anya Gallaccio pointing into a side room as we wander the disused, silent engine halls of the Wapping Hydraulic Pumping Station in east London, "is my 'pre-menstrual housewife' piece". On the floor squat slabs of ice, each the size of a railway sleeper, leaking quietly on to the cement. Atop the ice sits an electric lron, apparently still plugged in. The surface of the ice is indented with the imprint of the hot iron. The ice woman cometh: I have an image of Gallaccio the fractious housfrau, Ironing the ice, blowing the fuses amid clouds of steam. Luckily, the Iron isn't working.

This was just a prelude: down in the cavernous space of the abandoned boiler-room stands a glistening monument rising between the iron pillars of the empty, high-ceilinged space: a three-metre high, four-metre long, three-metre wide block of ice, standing in the spreading puddles as it melts, glistening in the gloom. It has been built from a stack of the same 200kilo slabs, carted here from an ice factory in Kent. Buried within this transient monument - and barely visible within the ice's bluish translucence — is a boulder of Cheshire rock salt.

The salt's granular efflorescence has leeched its way between the slabs, forming crystalline scabs on the surface. Also entombed is a strip-light, illuminating the work from within. This is overdoing things a bit, as the ice itself, refracting the daylight, generates its own

Ice sculptures are familiar enough as elaborate decorations at tacky banquets and cruise-ship dinner dances, but while we're used to frozen flights of swans and fanciful, glacial castles, this is chill-out minimalism. Gallaccio invariably uses impermanent materials - de-



Melt away . . . Anya Gallaccio's glistening ice aculptures are a

a slowly festering layer of chocolate; table-tops heaped with mounds of guttering from candles.

Her work has been described as a feminist spin on muscle-bound, male art forms — turning the colour fields of Barnett Newman and Mark Rothko into a fetid, per-fumed bower, or replacing the arid

roses and tulips; walls painted with | stone arrangements of Richard Long with meadows, by way of the florist's shop. But her work is more than a didactic postmodern twist on

atereotyped masculinity. "Before the flowers of friendship faded, friendship faded," wrote Gertrude Stein wistfully; Gallaccio's

motifs of the art of our age. The death of the artist's brother has been a signal, albeit understated theme in Gallaccio's work, and she says of the latest ice piece that she queasy feeling", the kind of feeling that presages love going wrong: "I is about human relationships, and I'm not very good at them."

The salt melts the ice from within, eating away from the inside, destabilising the structure. The outer surface is melting too, creating runnels, odd accidental pockets and gargoyles you can stick your

The feeling, as one runs one's hands over the ice, is both sensual and disquieting. What can't be avoided either is that this aculpture is physically dangerous. As the ice began to melt it fused the blocks together, but as further melting goes on, who knows whether it will disintegrate decorously or whether whole faces of the structure will slide off without warning. The change in the weather, and the rock of salt, are doing their work.

UCH of Gallaccio's work looks like minimalism, but it is as much concerned with the drama of content, referentiality and metaphor, something the reductivist artists of the 1960s sought to avoid and deny. The object and the empty space around it were all there was - and that was all the viewer got. If Galfaccio's works were only concerned with form, we'd be left with little more than belated footnotes to the long line of process and materially derived works by earlier

Where Gallaccio's work is sparse, concise and formally acute, Georgina Starr's work is copious, confusing and heetic. There's an overwhelming amount of material in her Installation, titled Hypnodreamdruff, in the New Art Room at London's Tate gallery.

Sidestep the weary queues for Cezanne, run past Bill Woodrow's Gertrude Stein wistfully; Gallaccio's overcooked, shopping-mall sculpwork is always a kind of memorial to tures and plunge into the semi-loss. Loss and absence are the left darkness of a night-club called The

Hungry Brain. A video projection or the wall flashes un Starr berself crooning away as the night-club chanteuse, while the "Four Marys from Bunty go through a Lycra-clad Pan's People routine. The club audi ence, filmed in an earlier incarnation of the installation at the Stedelijk Moseum in Amsterdam, chat, curse and mill about.

The New Art Room is not big, but n Starr's installation it also contains the kitchen-diner of three ill-suited housemates, the bedroom of a young wonan obsessed with the musical Grease, and a full-sized caravan occupied by a bloke called Dave. You can sit in Dave's caravan and watch him going about his solitary life via a video projected on the van's back window.

derpants. Watch Dave get dressed Watch him drinking alone and preparing spaghetti. Dave, it turns out, works in a dry-cleaner's, but does magic tricks in his spare time. We get to know rather too much about Dave.

This part of Starr's work i compelling and exeruciating. But it is but a fragment of Starr's metafiction, a sprawling overload of dream-sections, improvised, reritt ported occupants of the shared tousehold, and a video of Starr playing all the parts in a scene from Grease, a unisical she acted in as a teenager. Add to all this a spool device for recording dreams and the themes of magic, madness, telepathy and hypnosis, and we. Starr's real-life audience, reel out in a state of discombobulation.

Starr's work is solipsistic, selfreferential and the product of a generation that grew up with its face pressed to the TV screen, while Gallaccio uses language games derived from the high-points of modernism, transmuted into lightly associative materials, Gallaccio with her formal astringency, and Starr, with her melange of techniques and guises and her maddening use of narrative, are both concerned with the deeper plots of their private lives, with human relationships, with what is shared

HEN the backhoe has fin-ished carving a trench along the shoulder of Volgogradskaya Street, Russian workmen comb the earth with gar-den trowels and bare fingers. The soil soon yields objects hidden for more than half a century; a helmet,

Moscow and Bonn are

feeling their way round

to a new relationship,

write Fred Hlatt and

Rick Atkinson

a black boot, ribs, a skull.

In 10 minutes, the remains of yet

another German soldier killed dur

ing the battle of Stalingrad — an epic turning point of World War II

- are spread across a tarpaulin.

Among the bones the workmen find

an aluminum dog tag, and the iden-

tification number, matched to an old

army roster, quickly yields a name:

Watch Dave hoovering in his un-

Leopold Franz Heydreck, a private first class from Wehrmacht Regiment 425. Thirty years old when he died in November 1942, Heydreck had been buried hastily with scores of fallen comrades along the unpaved main street of this southern Russian village 10 miles from Volgograd, as Stalingrad is now called. Until this year, his bones would have been shoveled into a plastic bag and stored on a warehouse shelf with 6.000 other sets of remains of Germans already found in makeshift

graves around the city. But after years of negotiations, Russia and Germany agreed last summer to consecrate a new mili tary cemetery west of the city. There, on the open steppe above the Volga River, Heydreck and his coun-trymen will finally be laid to rest. "This is really important," said

Hans Schildberg, a German forensic technician working with the Russians. "We just passed the 50th anniversary of the end of the war, and this is a testament to the change in the political relationship between our two countries." As netaphor, the agreement to bury the mat by properly burying the dead is both poignant and profound. Germany and Russia are the twin giants of Europe; the fate of the coninent will be determined largely by the extent to which their relation ship is cordial and constructive rather than bellicose and malignant. World War II and all its baggage remain an enormous psychological burden for both countries.

It will take more than cemeterie to establish a durable equilibrium. For much of this century, the two nations have been like scorpions in a bottle, both deeply imprinted with mutual fear and what Karl Lamers, a leading German foreign policy expert, calls "an extraordinarily problematic common history". The lematic common history." The pressure points of today's relationahip — economic, psychological, cultural and historic — will affect the merger of Eastern and Western Europe into a unified whole, as well historic ties, each country considers

as European stability in general. "If you look at history and geography and economic relationships over the past centuries, whatever happened in Central Europe — and the Poles know it best - was affected by Germany and Russia," said a senior Foreign Ministry offi- Japanese equipment ... Politica is cial in Bonn. "If Germany and Rus-sia were on good terms, it was bad cs." The Bonn government calcusia were on good terms, it was bad for the rest. If they were on bad terms, it was even worse. We are



peremptory way in which Germany ushered out the remnants of the Red Army in 1994 PHOTO. MARTIN ARGLES

aware of the weight of these two countries, these two big animals right in the middle of the pasture, he added. "And we must be very careful how we tread."

For the Germans - newly reunited but still unsure of themselves - Russia is a mother lode of natural resources and the embodiment of Germany's once and future links to the East Diplomats in Bonn believe Germany is uniquely placed to engage a rapidly changing Russia on behalf of the West.

Yet in truth, German influence in Russia is all when it comes to such fundamental issues as suppressing the insurrection in the secessionist region of Chechnya or cultivating a moderate successor to ailing President Boris Yeltsin, Moreover, Russian instability is a source of deep angst, a foreboding that if things go wrong in Moscow and St. Petersburg the consequences are dire for Berlin and Frankfurt.

"We in Germany have to live in a much closer and more direct relationship with Russia than the average American," said Otto von der Gablentz, Germany's ambassador to Russia until retiring in October. "But we have basically the same interest in [seizing] this unique chance of getting Russia out of a thousand years of isolation." For Russians — shorn of their

empire, quasi-democratic, deeply insecure — Germany offers a corridor to the West, as it did for Peter the Great three centuries before. It is also a cash cow: By Bonn's reckonmore than all other Western nations Eight hundred German firms

now have representatives in Moscow. By virtue of proximity and the other "a kind of preferred partner," as a German official puts it. "For Russia, the most reliable partner is Germany," agreed Anatoly Dmitrakov, general director of the Volgograd Margarine Factory. We're not buying American or

contributed an average of \$360 in other, influence the mind-set of various aid programs to help Russia. Each Japanese citizen, by comparison, contributed on average less than \$9. For Germany, aid is both a fire wall against instability and a wrote recently. means of priming the pump for fu-

As the massive aid transfer suggests, the playing field is hardly level. Russia's gross national prod-uct is one-third that of united Germany, according to Maximychev. Although German officials believe billions of marks in investment are poised to flow into Russia, few German entrepreneurs are willing to gamble there heavily until such bugaboos as organized crime and erratic tax laws are brought under control. "In 1994, German firms invested

110 million marks (\$79 million) in Russia," von der Gablentz said. "That's nothing, because in the whole world we invested 56 billion marks (\$40 billion). This reflects, of course, on the very bad investment security conditions in Russia." Andrei Zagorski, deputy rector of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, observed, "Economically, Russia and Germany have had very high expectations of each other, and even though they never really lived up to those expectations, both consider themselves natural partners."

F EXPECTATIONS run high, so do suspicions and insecurities. Russia has been reduced to the role of supplicant - a bitter pill for a nation that five years ago boasted the largest empire on Earth. Sensitive to slights, many Russians nurse a lingering grudge over the peremptory way in which Germany ushered out the remnants of the Red Army from Berlin in August 1994. Chancellor Helmut Kohl, insist-

ing that Moscow's forces had remained an army of occupation in eastern Germany for nearly five decades, refused to accord them equal status with US, British and French troops, who were feted as liberators and protectors. The snub still rankles in Moscow.

"Memories of the horrors and crimes of the last war, the old wounds and insults, personal

young people," Igor Maximychev, a refired diplomat who chairs the European security department in the Russian Academy of Sciences,

These "old wounds and insults" nave played out in recent times, per haps improbably, in the world of art. Russian officials now acknowledge possession of tens of thousands of artworks and museum artifacts taken from occupied Germany after 1945. German officials say the booty is worth more than \$6 billion and includes not only paintings by Vincent van Gogh, Plerre Auguste Renoir and other masters, but also 2 million books and complete municipal archives from a number of German towns.

Negotiations over ownership o the loot have stalled. Russia's legislature has blocked the return of any objects, and the dispute - laden with pride, envy and two conflicting worldviews — threatens to become a dangerous flash point.

"There's an almost atavistic feel ng in Russia where national pride is concerned, [an attitude] that after the destruction of the war, now we've got what is our due from the Germans and we're going to keep it," von der Gablentz said, "This is incompatible with the type of world the Russians want to live in." But irina Antonova, director of the Pushkin Museum in Moscow, has insisted that the art is "compensawreaked by the Third Reich.

Last year, essayist Vitali Kolbasyuk enumerated the Soviet losses: "Forty-seven million people were killed or wounded, 18 million babies towns were destroyed, 427 museums were plundered, 1,670 Russian Orthodox churches were destroyed or damaged, 532 synagogues and 237 Catholic churches were ruined, 180 million books were stolen and

564,700 pieces of art disappeared."
A poll published last year by the weekly newspaper Wochenpost Indicated that about one-third of Germans surveyed feel "threatened" by Russia. It is likely that a much higher percentage feels at least queasy over potential threats: plutonium smuggling from Russia's besieged nuclear

ing westward, economic or civil strife that could send thousands if not mil lions of refugees tramping toward

"There's a concern that goes deep in Germany that all these things in Russia are developing in ways you can't calculate any more - crime, the mafia and so forth," top German diplomat said. "We also feel much more clearly where the danger lies in Russia than do people in the United States, where events n Russia still seem a bit remote,"

Alexander Maslakov, the Ger-many section chief in Russia's Foreign Ministry, pondered the tricky question of Russian and German spheres of influence as he sipped his cognac after a steak dinner in a Moscow hotel, "I don't see my great competition between Germany and Russia in Central Europe," he declared. "It's hard to answer a hypothetical question because it's not a current question. Somehow we'll just have to divide it up."

Such a cavalier approach to geopolitics provokes stern disapproval from German officials. Moscow, they say, has yet to grasp that Germany is less interested in biateral thrusts than in extending multilateral institutions - especially the European Union and NATO - to provide prosperity and security for the entire continent. Any hint of the old entente that views the lands between Russia and Germany as spoils to be carved up is about as politically incorrect as it gets in Bonn.

HERE is the fear or specter which has formed in some parts of Europe — will this not become in the last resort a German-Russian dominated Europe?" von der Gablentz said, alluding to an anxiety felt in Paris as well as in Prague. "Quite frankly, I think this is sheer nonsense. Why? This is one of the major points of my mission [in Moscow]: to tell the Russians that Germany is no longer the isolated nation-state they used to know."

Yet the suspicion lingers in Warsaw, Vilnius and other former Eastern Bloc capitals that they occupy a proving ground for Russian-German relations in the 31st century. For now, Russian influence is ebbing rapidly as German language, money and products become ever more ubiquitous. Again, the intangibles of pride and psychology are at play in ways difficult to measure.

Russia's strategy now is to temporize, to postpone competition for spheres of influence as long as possiple in order to put its economic house in order and level the playing field, said Zagorski, of the Moscow State Institute of International Rela-tions. Building on the assumption that Russia will be a major European actor, the big question is: Will Russia be a major European problem or will it be a European partner?" he added.

"Germany has reconquered East omy," said Alexel Pushkov, a writer Russia give Eastern Europe? Gas and oil? They are getting that anyway.

There are cycles of domination For the time being, there is nothing we can do," Pushkov added. "Eventually, [East Europeans] will feel there are too many Germans, too many Germans getting drunk in Prague and getting drunk in Warsaw, and they may turn to Russia. This we're happen. I'm absolutely sure, Brected by will happen later, mught to meet very we have something to deliver the same

Retra (February 13)

### Australian chutzpah that travels well

THEATRE Michael Billington

WE SEE far too little Australian drama in Britain. But Patrick Sandford at the Nuffield Southampton has had the wit to import David Williamson's controversial comedy, Dead White Males, which stirred things up in Sydney last year with its attack on fashionable literary theory and the wilder excesses of the thought police. Even though the play does not always fight fair, you have to admire Williamson's bravery and chutzpah.

His heroine, Angela Judd, is an English literature student who falls under the spell of a modish professor, Grant Swain who uses all the right buzzwords. All literature is ideological, the patriarchal corporate state is the enemy and liberal humanism is its deadly handmaiden.

But when Angela, who communes nightly with the outraged ghost of Shakespeare, does a research project into her own family, she discovers that human

ist granded was capable of unacknowledged altruism and that her passionately feminist mother both relished her career and felt pangs of guilt at the neglect of her daughter. Williamson hits some of his

targets dead centre. Swain is a wonderful creation; a smug academic who espouses post-structuralism and feminist multi-culturalism but who indoctrinates rather than educates his students and abuses his power by sleeping with them. He even makes "Have you read Foucault?" sound like a suave chat-up line

ary term, "jouissance", as a sexual turn-on. It is no mean feat to make a popular comedy out of academic debate. Williamson even puts the process of teaching on to the

and uses the Lacanesque liter-

His main weakness is in ap-propriating Shakespeare as an apostle of liberal humanism and the doctrine of the unchanging human heart, even giving us scenes from As You Like It and

beings are full of uncategorisable contradictions; that her chauvin-But Williamson offers us a drastically simplified Will, failing to acknowledge both his moral uestioning and his multi-

But you do not have to agree with Williamson to find his play stimulating. At least he tackles head-on the whole question of academic mind-bending. And, in the family scenes, he shows there are no simple black and

The grandad, nicely played by John Woodvine, may seem an old bigot to his wife and daughters but Williamson makes you aware that he was the workingclass product of a wartime generation that had a hard life and that he is still capable of selfless

It's not a perfect play but addresses living issues. Sandford's production is spiritedly played by Jeremy Clyde as swinish Swain, Claire Price as intellectually wakened Angela, and Gabrielle Lloyd as her mum, who felt morally bound to tackle a world where only 3 per cent of top man-

agement are women. It's a deeply Australian play that travels well.

### It's all Greek to me

**TELEVISION** Nancy Banks-Smith

SLAND OF DREAMS (Channel 4) is about British women who have fallen in love with Greeks on the Ionian island of Zakynthos. The producers have already made series bout expatriates in Spain and the Dordogne. I am breathless with dmiration for this wheeze. Personally, I doubt if Zakynthos is worth three hours but I can see why the TV crew thought otherwise.

Suzy is intelligent, articul fiance, a house and a job in publishing. Then she took a two-week holiday in Zakynthos and met Denis continually for that two weeks . . . He asked me to stay and live with him the first week I was here. He had flowers in his back pocket for me where nobody could see them, but he would give them me when we were on our own. Of course, I fell for it. It was new to me, having men run after me with such vigour and such passion. You have to be a female to understand how incredi-

bly ... female they make you feel."

Female is to mot exactly juste.

In Greece it means not only desir able but, as Suzy discovered, docile. "When you've been a business person and suddenly you're a nobody because you're a woman and a foreign woman, it's very demeaning-It's funny, you can stop believing you

do have an opinion if nobody listens.

The island is very traditional. We had many a fight over the disclpline he instilled into me. Rules that only applied to me, not to him. Those were the crying years . . . didn't like it but I live with it now. know the rules."

near as dammit beautiful. She had a Denis picking his dog up by the collar and hauling it along, yelping And he is very fond of his dog. Suzy said a wife comes about fourth after Vitsos, a farmer. "He followed me | a man's mother, his shooting and his dog.

"If you don't love someon enough, it's difficult. Many a time, li there'd been a No 21 bus going to Lewisham, I would have been on it.

Every Greek marriage is a wooden horse. Inside is the mother in-law. It sounds a subject for slaughter. You are surprised Sophocles didn't make a bigger thing of it.

Timeo Dangos et dona ferentis. Watch out for the flower in the back



**GUARDIAN WEEKLY** 

Henri Tincq

T N A report on Aids published

a ops accept for the first time

that the use of condoms is "neces-

sary" to prevent transmission of the

Aids virus. The report, called La So-

ciété En Question, was published by

the Social Commission of the French episcopate.

In this official document, which

remarkably, makes no allusion to

the Pope's stance on the matter, the

president of the Social Commission

Monseigneur Albert Rouet, bishop

of Poitiers, reports on how the epis-copate's thinking on this issue has gradually shifted to the point where

consensus seems to have been

While stating that condoms are

"necessary" and saying how happy

he is that they have "partly" made it

possible to slow down the spread of Aids in France, Rouet also explains at length why the Catholic Church

generally advocates a different kind

f solution — fidelity in love — and

contends, unlike the medical profes-

sion, for example, that prevention

campaigns aimed at young people should not be based solely on the

recommended use of condoms.

on February 12, French bish-

IN THE BEAUTY OF THE LILIES By John Updike Knopf, 491pp, \$25.95

HE NOVEL, since its beginnings, has generated large numbers of subgenres. The varieties have lately seemed to proliferate wildly, like varieties of snack foods on supermarket shelves, and the bright if somewhat illusory array attracts not only readers but writers tempted to try something new, to see if they can turn out a campus farce, or an alternativehistory novel, or a techno-thriller, or

John Updike's restless talent is the one where the generations of a family experience all the currents and counter-currents of the century, which variously pass them by, destroy them, or carry them to fame and adventure, thence to disillusion and loss. Among the usual components of this popular flavor are evocative lists of pop-culture icons, walk-ons by real historical characters, and family members who recapitulate the experiences of earlier members in changed circumstances. All are present in Updike's version; so are Updike's voice and his repertoire of gesture and feeling, as distinctively his as the genre he is working in is common property.

Two themes connect the generations of the Wilmot family as they successively appear before us: One is God, the other is the movies. The story begins on a summer afternoon in 1910, in Paterson, New Jersey, as the Rev. Clarence Arthur Wilmot all at once loses his faith la God. Clarence has the courage of his unbelief. He gives up his comfortable living, reducing his family to poverty, and tries to make money selling encyclopedias to the working people of Paterson, most of whom are worse off than himself because of the long Paterson silk strike of 1913 (the one that broke

he escapes his dilemma, and finds there all that he will ever know of of them the more intensely. But for

Clarence Wilmot's decline in status (and subsequent sickness and early death) has various effects on his family. His wife, Stella, will forget, and remake her husband into a sort of martyr, too good for the world, but she will never be entirely able to forgive. His son Jared's natural cynicism will find fuel in his father's foolish abnegation. And his youngest son, Teddy, will never forgive God for not releating and giv-ing his father the slightest sign of For Clarence and his crisis of

faith, Updike employs an upholgabardine yardage that runs from, say, George Eliot to William Dean Howells: "As, with an expression of morose benignity, he sat consuming his share of pork roast and its ample vegetable accompaniment, his wife youngest, little, careful, tongue-tied reddy - were exceptionally animated and conversational." Only when he drops it, in Teddy's section, do we realize (gratefully) that this orotundity will not be permanent; we have already been reminded why the manner was discarded.

The world picks up speed dangerously in the 1920s, and frightens Teddy into abnegations of his own. His greatest skill — one he will pass on to his own grandson in malignant form - is for avoidance, and it will build him a small and, as he sees it in old age, an almost perfectly satisfactory life: He has avoided all the shoals upon which others have foundered. Not only that, he has known real love (with Emily, who has a malformed foot and a careful privacy of her own because of it) and has had a job he never tires of, as a postman in a small Delaware

Teddy too goes to the movies, but they somewhat frighten him with their extremitles of pain and urstrike of 1913 (the one that broke the power of the Wobblies). In the darkened nickelodeons of the city support of the pointless suffer-

Teddy and Emily's daughter, Essle, growing up in the '40s, movies are not an escape; real life is the movies, and life itself the imitation. For Essie, Updike adopts a swift style richer than anything that has come before, and his vivid evocations of the artificial life of the screen, appealing and vivid throughout, now come through Essie's con-sciousness: "She [Ginger Rogers]

wore dresses that were mountains of ruffles and big snakes of ostrich feathers that came up and covered her chin and no matter how fast he was making her move and twirl on the slippery ballroom floor her eyes stayed level and calm and warm like lamps inside her head." SSIE, remade as Alma De Mott, will herself enter alive into that empyrean as a star.

Single-minded and heroically selfregarding, she is also the only one of the Wilmots who genuinely and spontaneously believes in God: not in church or religion, but in God as the source of the universe's love and catches up Essie's son, Clark, in the final part, and destroys him; but we never know that Clark really believes in anything.

A cliche who understands he is a

cliche (the useless and insufficiently loved son of a beautiful remote mother and her auccession of nonentity husbands), Clark in 1990 is in his twenties, working at a ski resort that his great-uncle Jared has made out of a played-out copper mountain in Colorado. Teddy's talent for evasion and Jared's cynicism, his own rootlessness and irreality (movies are the most real thing in his life too, but he no longer believes in them) add up in Clark to a plain zero; when a casual pickup takes him to a commune in the mountains run by a religious zealot, the leader "stepped into him like a drifter taking over an empty shack."

With prophet Jesse and his Tem-ple we are in purlicus that seem

rel of the gun assigned to Clark that floated outward like a flexible, sensitive wand when he embraced the polished stock of silky checkered The outcome is clear early on and it is to be wondered what exactly we are to make of the Waco-inm-alternative-universe that ends the book abruptly. The mechanisms of apocalyptic belief are not studied, as we never learn that Clark actually believes; Jesse, the self-taught prophet, is a sort of

1913 from Updike's own growingup; yet they are as sensually sharp and exact as anything in the book, physical environment of astonishing verisimilitude, the "mummified bundles of guns smelling of the oil that kept them eternally young," the bar-

lie in the epigraph from which the otherwise puzzling title comes: "As he died to make men holy," the "Battle-Hynin of the Republic" says, "let us die to make men free." The God that Clarence Wilmot abandoned at such cost seizes upon his great-grandson, but - very nearly oo late - Clark is given the chance to die in making at least a few women and children free. The quescliche too, with his endless askew both from the dream of Revelation Biblical references, his clutch of and the revelations in the darkened more remote even than Paterson in | young wives, his prophecies of de-

also prototypical. Because Salvatore dence, we know more about Webhis country even when his country did not believe in him, and lived by the right as best he understood it thousands gone,

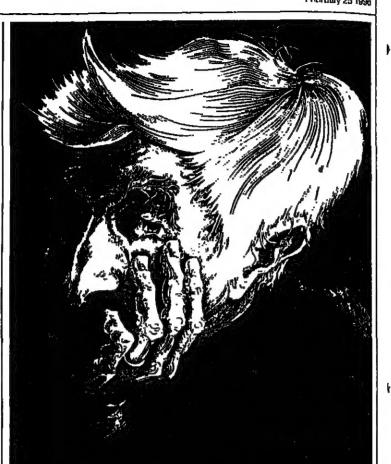


ILLUSTRATION VINTLAWRENCE

struction. The whammies (as the moviemakers of Clark's generation call them) come as expected, and are a tour de force of narrative management, though we can sometimes glimpse the author busy at work consulting his gun digests and

The key to Updike's intent me The drift of the bishops' messag is that it is no longer reasonable for them to give the impression that a disease like Aids is purely a ques-tion of individual behaviour and private morals about which the Church has nothing to say. "Aids is not other people's dis ease," the report says. "The whole social fabric is affected by it. To be

able to talk about Alds one needs to take into account each individual's background and the state of society." It was contact with patients and nursing staff that eventually convinced Rouet that the public could no longer understand the Church's stance on Alds prevention. The three latest documents published by the Social Commission — on unemploy-

ment (1993), housing (1995) and now Aids — are symptomatic of a change in the episcopate's methods.

The very structure of La Société En Question, which comprises firsthand accounts by experts, Aids sufferers, relatives, nursing staff and even a homosexual (for the first time in any official text put out by the Catholic Church), demonstrates that, far from distancing themselves from a scourge still described in some reaches of the Church as retribution for "deviant behaviour" or even "God's punishment", Christians as a whole often play an active role wherever the disease is present

Whether that role is active enough is another matter. It is a pity that the report's succession of firsthand accounts seems to have provided the bishops with an excuse not to pronounce more generally on the apiritual experience of believers who come into contact with Aids sufferers, on the low degree of mobilisation found in Christian parishes, on their failure - with a few exceptions - to take part in events like World Aids Day, on the difficulty of organising preventive campaigns in Catholic schools, and on the role of hospital chaplains (outlined in the report by a Protestant chaplain!).

However the bishops' call for "fears to be exorcised" and for "everything to be done to overcome the isolation of Aids sufferers" shows they are now much more willing to commit themselves on this issue.

This has clearly set them on to a collision course with Rome. When asked about the absence of any reference in La Société En Question to Rome's thinking on Aids, Rouet said: "We wanted to focus our attention on the situation in France and assume our responsibilities French bishops."

In other words, the use of the word "necessary" in conjunction lar trust ever since he brought the with condoms was quite deliberate Latin-American bishops to heel, and



And now, dear listeners, here is an original idea for a St Valentine's

nd bound to risk friction with the | Cardinal Fiorenzo Angelini, who is in atican only a few months before the ope's visit to France.

Le Monde

As soon as news of the report's contents was revealed earlier this month, the episcopate's secretariate received a "horrified" telephone call from the apostolic nuncio's office in

LTHOUGH there was no immediate official reaction from Rome, there can be little doubt that influential figures in the Vatican will start doing some discreet arm-twisting.

Two of their most conservative nembers enjoy a virtual monopoly when it comes to propounding the Vatican's thinking on natural contraceptive methods and on Aids. They are Cardinal Lopez Trujillo, the Colombian president of the Pontifical Council for the Family, a man who has enjoyed the Pope's particucan, and who is known for having had political and financial ties with leading Italian Christian Democrats.

The bishops who sit on the French episcopate's Social Commission are familiar with the realities of everyday life. They know the Church cannot go on issuing cutand-dried declarations or deal with such a complex issue as Aids in a prescriptive way.

They were unhappy about last year's criticism of the episcopate as a "silent" body made up of "submis-sive and fearful officials" and about the constant talk of a widening rift between the Church and society.

All the signs are that they decided to risk upsetting their Roman overlords on an issue as tragic as Aids. These bishops are certainly not rebels, but they may have felt i was time to send a clear message to their Church.

(February 13 and 14)

### Fanfare for Black America's Common Man

WE ALL GOT HISTORY The Memory Books of Arros

By Nick Salvatore imes Books. 443pp. \$25

NYONE who has ever done his A torical or biographical research expected directions and produce results beyond the capacity of one's imagination. That certainly is what happened a decade ago to Nick Salneil and biographer of Eugene V Debs, as he was looking up material for an article on 19th-century American labor. In an archive at Harvard he found a compendious, multivolume, handwritten journal entitled 'Amos Webber Thermometer Record and Diary." It turned out to have almost nothing to do with the project at hand; instead, it led to this vonderful book.

Acnos Webber was a black man But when in freedom outside Philadel-munes nightly with ue died 88 years later ghost of Shakespeare etts industrial city research project into her out ad spent dence is that Amos Webber used his chronicle to develop ideas that, as a leader in the assumption that Amos Webber man, Not merely

of intelligence and acuity, deep moral conviction and unwavering self-confidence, a man who never rose above the rank of lanitor at a Worcester mill, yet was a figure of city's small black enclave but within

the larger community as well.

At the age of 28, while living and working in Philadelphia, Webber began keeping a regular record of temperatures and weather "that gradually grew into something more "His was never a confessional diary," Salvatore writes, "and one analysis of his emotions and motives. Yet his self-confidence with his chosen form evolved over time. world, Amos Webber grew into his task . ." Much about Webber is missing from these ledgers - his

able to find much in it.

more public venues. At the deepest level Webber told stories in his own particular narrative style because he found great personal satisfaction in knowing that the chronicle ex-isted. His life, and the lives of his friends and associates, counted for something in this world; and his storytelling redeemed some of the pain, and preserved some of the

moral sense; it intensified when, as a | was a historic moment: to have paryoung man, he worked for a well-todo Philadelphia white man who was Less a diarist than a recorder, a similarly inclined and who encourchronicier, a commentator on his aged Webber's moral development.

Perhaps because of his happy youthful experience in Philadelphia, Webber had a "familiarity with the wife of more than half a century is scarcely mentioned, and the heart-breaking death of their only child is recorded with emotions in check, if not so sympathetic whites," but his barely - yet Salvatore has been | first allegiance beyond moral vision | ble to find much in it.

"What can be said with confiblacks, In Philadelphia and then in

black man in white society, he had limited opportunity to explore in the institutional framework for the expression of a distinctive black culture in the North, a culture whose synergism and diversity reflected the labyrinthine circumstances of being black, Christian and American in an environment largely hostile to [blacks'] very presence." Yet he was no less an American

than a black man. He served in the Civil War, sometimes in demeaning capacities to which white officers assigned his unit, the Fifth Massachusetts (Colored) Cavalry, but also at the capture of Petersburg. This taken in the destruction of the slave system gave ultimate meaning to [black soldiers'] sacrifices and raised great hopes for the future," which is why Webber and his comrades were possessed by "an indescribable loy and fierce pride" in what they had accomplished. When the war ended Webber became active in the Grand Army of the Republic, and remained active even after whites successfully limited black membership.

Implicit in Salvatore's narrative is

did he have all the qualities ascribed to blue above, but he had a lively interest in the world around him and entered his observations about many aspects of it in his "Thertart, forthright terms. Considering all the obstacles that his time and place conspired to place before him he must be reckoned a singular man by any reasonable measure.

Yet there is another point about Amos Webber upon which Salvalore for some reason does not dwell. He may have been singular, but he was found his papers and made such a ber than we do about the vast majority of his fellow black Amercans of his time or any other. But it is the existence of his written record rather than the facts of his life that makes Amos Webber Un usual. As a black American who worked hard all his life, believed in he was one among millions. The real story of the African presence in America is of fidelity forbearance and falth, which is why Amos Web ber's story is also the story of many

### Pressure builds on Samper to stand down

Anne Proenza in Bogotá

INVESTIGATIONS into Colombian president Ernesto Samper's personal involvement in the alleged financing of his 1994 election camwhen the prosecutor-general," Alfonso Valdivieso, gave evidence be-fore a meeting held in camera of a cial committee of the Congres

porters who had been waiting for him for several days, Valdivieso handed over his voluminous evidence, which consisted of more than 50 folders and two video cassettes.

The president had managed to: fend off the charges against him on December 15. But the new evidence, contributed by Valdivieso, convinced the congressional committee of the need to restart investigations. Leaks published by all .Colombia's newspapers suggested there are grounds

for charging the president with four offences: electoral fraud, personal enrichment, forgery and the conceal-

The congressional committee will hand down its verdict within the next four months. The Congress will then decide whether to press formal charges against President

If it goes ahead, the president will which is the only body empowered to judge the president.

Escorted by dozens of body guards and assailed by a pack of respect to the senators feel that the president is liable to criminal charges,

they will pass the case on to the Supreme Court of Justice. Experts believe the whole process could

On February 14 the Liberal senator, Gustavo Espinosa, was remanded in custody on charges of lilegal per-sonal enrichment in the same way as legedly overstepped the mark by

ailed. Other prisoners include the former defence minister Fernando Botero, the former treasurer of Samper's election campaign, Santiago Medina, and one of the president's dvisers, Juan Manuel Abella. Three ministers — the interior

Three ministers — the minister Horaclo Serba, the foreign minister Rodrigo Pardo, and the minister Juan Manuel Turbay — all of whom played a major role in Samper's elec-tion campaign, are expected to find themselves facing a similar plight within the next few days...

This week the electoral council Supreme Court of Justice. Experts believe the whole process could take from six to eight months—a long period of time given the unrest now gripping Colombia.

Hardly a day goes by without some new revelations about the scandal being revealed by the media.

On February 14 the Liberal sens. candidate, Andres Pastrana, al-

In the past few days an increas-ingly weary-looking Samper has consistently proclaimed his innomate has been steadily deteriorating and the country is facing its biggest crisis for 35 years.

On February 12, in the course of outlining the results of his antidrugs policy to an audience of army officers, ministers and reporters, the president made a point of reviving painful memories of the years of drugs-related terrorism by project the bomb attacks that caused such terrible bloodshed in Colombia during the eighties.
But those days are not entirely a

thing of the past. On February 14, guerrillas massacred 11 peasants, including one woman, in the north of the country. The victims were "picked out" by a group of 12 guer-rilias who had boarded a bus taking workers to the Osaka banana plantation, 10 kin from Carepa, in the Uraba region. In 1995 more than 700 people were killed in that region, where tive similar massacres took place

### Pope 'suffers from major mental block'

The French scientist who discovered the Aids virus talks to **Jean-Yves Nau** 

PROFESSOR Luc Montagnier, the man who discovered the Aids virus, regards the shift in the French bishops' attitude towards the use of condoms in the fight against Aids as an "important development" Their report, he says, "agrees with the conclusions of many doctors and scientists, namely that the condom is a mechanical way of preventing infection, but that it is not the only one.

"But this does not mark a complete U-turn. It is to be noted that it is not the bishops themselves who state that condoms are 'necessary' as a preventive method, but that they quote — approvingly — the view of 'competent doctors' and the action of public health authorities.

"The bishops' report has the merit of tackling the problem very frankly instead of, as in the past, discussing or alluding to it indirectly. In his sense, it's a very positive step."

Montagnier believes that the great majority of doctors have never advocated condoms as a panacea. contrary to exaggerated claims made by some members of the Catholic hierarchy.

"We've never said condoms were the only means of protection against infection by the Aids virus. On the other hand, we have always stressed that this method should not be ruled out on religious grounds."

Because he was deeply concerned by the negative attitude of the religious authorities, Montag-nier has been to the Vatican on sev-

eral occasions. "I was surprised, in November 1993, to have been very warmly ap-plauded for a talk I gave there on the subject," he remembers. "I subsequently learnt that the audience consisted of representatives of religious congregations working on the ground. I then realised the applause meant that I had said out loud what

many of them thought themselves but could not express." How does Montagnier explain the longstanding discrepancy between the Catholic rank and file and the official line of the Church? "Those who make up the Pope's immediate cir-cle, and indeed the Pope himself, suf-fer from a major mental block. The Pope belongs to another generation and was trained in Poland, a country where the Church has remained ex-tremely traditionalist.

"It has to be remembered that the Vatican's condemnation of condoms contraception. I tried to win support for my arguments, but I was unsuccessful because of the influence of the Pope's entourage. I don't think the Pope is going to change his mind. But the fact that he allows dignitaries of the Catholic Church to put forward a different point of view marks a step for ward."

"Above all, now that the French have shown the way, bishops in Africa and Latin America, the regions of the world worst affected by the epidemic, ought to meet very soon and agree to deliver the same message, it's vital."

(February 13)



66 A LWAYS red and black." reads the inscription on a grave dug by the side of the Pan-American highway, north of Esteli, about two hours' drive from the capital, Managua. The spirit of the Sandinistas is evidently still alive in Nicaragua.

The area was one of the centres of the revolution of 1978-79, which has left many a scar on both the walls of houses and people's minds. That is why Ken Loach chose it as a location for the film he is currently shooting, Carla's Song.

A mud track and a bridge provide access to the village of Duacale Grande, which was hit by a cholera epidemic last summer. British film technicians rebuilt the bridge, which had been swept away by floods. But they also built houses which they later planned - to the bemusement of the villagers - to

The whole population of Duacale Grande, including children and old people, gathered at a respectable distance from the main square, holding their hands over their ears to essen the sound of the explosions.

This scene of destruction took them back nine years to the time when the fledgling Nicaraguan democracy was under attack from the Contras. The fact that the Contras' arms and military strategy had been provided by the United States was the first thing that struck Loach when he read the screenplay by Paul Laverty, a young Scots lawyer who had visited Nicaragua with the idea of helping to nurture what shreds of human rights had survived there.

The film, which is set in 1987. tells how a Glasgow bus-driver called George (played by Robert Carlyle, whom Loach used in his 1991 movie, Riff Raff) makes the acquaintance of Carla (Oyanka Cabezas, a Managua dancer), a young woman whose odd behaviour is the result of traumatic experiences in Nicaragua. George was planning to marry, but decides instead to accompany Carla back to her country and help her try to find



Oyanka Cabezas and Robert Carlyle, who play the central characters in Loach's film, Carla's Song, on

It took five years for Laverty to write his screenplay, and another three for Loach and his producer Sally Hibbin to get the project off the ground. Loach visited Nicaragua for the first time just before making Ladybird, Ladybird (1994). Since then, he has made Land And Freedom, which is set during the Spanish Civil War.

Many members of the crew on that film are now in Nicaragua working on Carla's Song. They come from 14 different countries. Loach started filming in Glasgow in November before moving on to location in Nicaragua - as usual, he decided to shoot the sequences of the film in chronological order.

Despite the problems that cropped up every day, mostly the result of inadequate infrastructure and means of communication (telephones do not lie thick on the ground in Nicaragua), Loach always seemed relaxed. It was as if he had decided to try to make the most of the inevitable snags and delays.

But appearances can be deceptive. In the best British stiff-upperlip tradition, Loach, usually wearing his shirt collar buttoned up despite the heat, refused to let his irritation show through. But in one-to-one conversation he did admit that things were going much too slowly for his liking.

was prepared in record time. This was partly made possible by the fact that Loach's cinematographer, Barry Ackroyd, who has worked on many of his films, used practically no artificial lighting. The duration of the shots was often very long, but Loach almost never asked for more than two takes. His feeling is that "beyond that, the actors lose their spontaneity".

He did everything in his power to out them at ease — hence the lack f spotlights, the long takes, and the requirement that all those who absolutely needed to be on set should keep a low profile.

Scott Glenn (best known for his performance in Philip Kaufman's The Right Stuff had flown down from the United States to play the part of Bradley, a former CIA agent who is so shocked by the atrocities he has been involved in that he joins the ranks of the Sandinistas.

Glenn said that when he decided become an actor he dreamt of working with a director like Loach. "As the years went by I eventually assumed that no such director existed," he said with a smile. "Some time ago my daughter insisted I go see a movie she described as extraordinary. That's how I came to discover Ladybird, Ladybird and Crissy Rock, a truly

Yet he ensured that each take | unbelievable actress. I asked the guy at the video club to let me have all of Ken Loach's movies. He'd obviously never heard of him, but still managed to track down Riff Raff.

"A few days later, when my agent told me Loach was offering me a part in a movie I thought he was kidding. Proof that Loach really is a unique person is that I've managed to speak Spanish, whereas I used not to understand a single word."

This meant that Glenn was not only able to chat with the villagers but improvise one or two lines of dialogue in Spanish with the Saudinistas as they examine the corpses of Contras killed during the attack on

One of the actors playing a Sandinista violently kicked a dead man's legs apart. Leach had not planned to have him do that, but now it was in the can. He said: "It's horrible, but I actually think that must have been the way things happened."

True to their trusted method. Loach and his crew relied on local people — in this case the communal committees of villages in the region - to come up with actors to play minor parts. That was how Rosa Amalia Lopez came to play Carla's mother. On many occasions also had herself experienced the same scenes she was required to perform

l in front of the camera. It was strange for her to plunge back into those tragic times, which she remembers as being remarkable chiefly for the way they generated solidarity between ordinary people Before the revolution, her house in Esteli had been used as a meeting place by the Sandinistas.

Lopez went on to join the arms and saw active service in the north The spirit of the time is still alive," she said with a rather sad snile. "Pd like the film to help people find out what really happened in Nicaragua and allow them to regain their sense of solidarity. I hope they'll be able to see it before the presidential elections next October, but there's no guarantee the government will

The Nicaraguan government authorised the shooting of Carla's Song, without even asking to see the screenplay, after Land And Freedom had been shown as part of an event devoted to European culture.

Rosita Savala, who plays a nurse in the film, was 15 in 1974 when she left the Catholic associations to which she belonged and joined the Sandinistas. After the "triumph" in 1979, she became a liaison agent whose task was to deliver messages and infiltrate the enemy ranks.

After being re-elected three times as head of her communal committee, she continued to exercise what she jokingly called her "dictatorship" and was actively preparing for the elections.

"Unemployment is running at 70 per cent," she said. "The big landowners who had taken refuge abroad are in the process of buying up land confiscated from them. And they're getting it for peanuts because people are completely destitute and have no choice but to sell.

"Otherwise the landowners sim ply get their land returned to them with the help of corrupt magistrates. There's no health system any more. Medical supplies have run out. This country's only hope is the had been discreetly listening to her gradually approached and voiced heir agreement. They were, they said, both weary and hopeful.

Loach said he had met a lot of vomen like Rosita and Rosa Amalia in Nicaragna, just as he had in trekind and in Spain; "They are the core of revolutionary movements and they inject extraordinary cuergy and faith into them." Carla's Song, due to be released in France next autumn, will certainly be a mililant film — a film in red and black.

(February 3)

### The importance of being Russian

Sandro Cappelletto meets rising star Valery Gergiev, anyway they're always playing musical chairs. That doesn't really conductor and director of St Petersburg's Kirov Theatre

ALERY GERGIEV hammered in Milan and at the Théâtre des ter. The new breed of political animal in Russia, as anywhere else, is question of now or never,' I told | spends three quarters of his time at | only intere Prime Minister Chernomyrdin, El | the Kirov. The degeneration of culther you do something straight away and you really do it, or you can say goodbye to this theatre. There's no time to be lost.' But I wonder if what I said really sank in."

Gergiev, a 43-year-old with characteristically Caucasian features (he hails from Ossetia), has been running the Kirov Theatre in St Petersburg since 1988. The theatre, like the Bolshoi in Moscow, is one of the great monuments of Russian musi-

He is currently conducting a production of an early opera by tural life in Russia is something he finds deeply depressing. "I often ask myself: why did I stay in Russia? Gorbachev opened the doors and everyone did a bunk. In the past five years we've lost centuries of tradition. A nation that once had extraor-

dinary musical assets is becoming impoverished." Gergiev is scathingly critical of politicians' lack of interest in music. | tainly celebrated Slava's return! They stand there with a smile on their faces. They only come so

matter -- the wealth of Russia is my theatre, and not this or that minisstrument of power."

Gergiev has fond, if slightly dimmed, memories of the time when Russia was united in its love of music. "I'll never forget the first recital Rostropovich gave after returning home after so many years. I was too young to remember the occasion when Khrushchev invited Stravinsky back to celebrate his 80th birthday in 1962. But I cer-

Then everything disintegrated at unbelievable speed. Nowadays, they're in the official photo on the when someone like Rostropovich night of the première. There's no wants to put on a production of Forza Del Destino, then it was

the Bolshoi he has to call on the ser- | vive that international tradition, and vices of our St Petersburg singers, because there aren't any left in Moscow. Our young singers learn their skills at our music schools with the help of our teachers, then an agent turns up and gets them to sign a contract. Then they vanish without trace. The man who decides on the future of Russian singers is an American agent It's scarcely

"Musicians I once trained now perform all over the world, from San Francisco to Tokyo - people like Gorgashkova, Borodina, Grigorian and Galusin. I create stars and they're snatched from me," Gergiev adds angrily.

"St Petersburg was a European city in the 18th century," he says. "Italian music was performed there, In the 19th century, Berlioz and Wagner visited the place. Verdi went there for the première of La Prokofiev, The Gambler, at La Scala | way of getting to talk to them — and | Mussorgsky's Khovanshchina at | Richard Strauss's turn. I want to re-

naturally, at the same time, stick up for our national repertoire."

Meanwhile in St Petersburg. labour and equipment costs are rising while the Kirov's budget has been trimmed. Gergiev has had to increase ticket prices. "But if I raise Russian people, those true music lovers, who will be turning up at the theatre, but nonveaux riches who neither know nor understand anything."

So why hasn't he left? Gergiev gives a simple reply: "Because Im Russian."

(February 2)

### Le Monde

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### False dawn for the British economy

Will Hutton

AST week saw some remarkable statistics. UK unemployment in January fell to its lowest for five years, but meanwhile underlying inflation dropped below 3 per cent. Even the Bank of England acknowledged that the Government is a little more likely than not to hit its 2.5 per cent target for underlying inflation in the next two years. Britain's chronic tendency to inflation seems to be evaporating.

There is a new spring in minister-ial steps, despite the Scott report. Conservatism is obviously working: and a further interest rate cut cannot be far away. Those 15 years of labour market reforms, weakening trade unions and reducing protection to employees have made workers less hawkish in wage claims.

The pre-emptive interest rate rises 18 months ago by the Chancellor, Kenneth Clarke, showed a determination on the issue of inflation that is now paying off. And ministers' loyalty to free trade and the global market has produced tough competition that offers a cap to inflation. Happy days! Maybe the next election is winnable, after all.

That's one prism through which to look at the world, but a closer inspection behind the figures unmasks a less Panglossian interpretation. Labour-market flexibility, globali-

sation and pre-emptive disinflation are part of a wider story in which. put simply, capital has become very powerful in relation to labour. The share of profits in national income has risen sharply while the share accruing to wages has fallen to its lowest level for 40 years. Behind the fashionable buzz-words stand oldfashioned power relations - bringing insecurity, instability and

inequality in their wake. For, as last week's Bank of England Inflation Report highlights, the fall in unemployment has not implied a rise in full-time employment or even a fall in economic inactivity — the definition encompassing those

-contained, fully serviced apartments in Kensington - close to park, shops, buses

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living on incapacity benefit, savings or early retirement income. Instead there has been a significant rise in part-time work. People have been moving from unemployment into a world of insecure, part-time jobs, a category which now constitutes 30

per cent of the labour market. Nor is this well-paid work. John Hughes of the Trade Union Re-search Unit at Oxford's Ruskin College has looked at the evidence in the 1995 New Earnings Survey, which shows that half Britain's parttimers earn less than £4.40 (\$6.80) an hour. Britain's employers, in short, have over the past four years

part-timers whom Hours worked they can sack if times get hard. They Full-time and part-time employees. have largely refused to increase investment, which is still falling as a proportion of gross domes- 106: worse for those in the boltom 10 per 102 : Full-time cent is that hourly wage-rates are lower 100 in 1995 than they were in 1994.

been hiring cheap

In other words, the lack of wage pressure reflects the new structure of the

labour market; and that in turn indi- market is the perceived threat of cates the new capacity and desire of employers to hire low paid, parttime and temporary workers. Ministers like to say this is a vital

1993 1994

competitive advantage for Britain, out this is unwarranted by evidence. First, multinationals in Britain, as the OECD reported in 1994, offer more full-time, high-wage jobs than do in-digenous British employers. Second, the whole argument about globalisation is hugely overstated, as Paul Hirst and Grahame Thomp-son argue in their new book, Globalsation In Question. Hirst and Thompson show that multinationals still have the vast bulk of their activity in their home region. Moreover, the trend between 1987 and 1992/3 was to deglobalise, concentrating

themselves out of the labour market, | more rather than less of their activity close to home. Nor do Hirst and Thompson de-

tect a vast flood of investment into low-wage, less developed countries. production of all but very simple low-tech goods is very risky outside the infrastructure offered by developed countries, a view shared by the multinationals. They tend to invest in a few developing countries where economic success is proven but largely reliant on shifting labour from low value-added agriculture to high value-added industry, and this cannot take place more than once.

The story of a vast pool of cheap Asian labour hanging like the sword of Damocles over wage levels in the West is unjustified: there is in these countries by multinationals or competition from

them to explain trends in the British labour market. In any case, the vast bulk of trade and intween Europe, Japan and North America with similar wage levels. The main impact on the labour

multinationals and large domestic companies moving production to low-cost countries. But most would rather retain the threat than deliver on it, and it is the threat, some allege, that is helping reduce wage This seems far-fetched as an ex-

1995

planation of the changes in employment and wage patterns across the found is going on - and a glance at the business pages shows what it is. United Kingdom plc is in the throes of a wave of takeovers and mergers that makes the 1980s look tame. Over the past week or so, Rentokil has bid for the giant con-

shire TV; MAI and United Newspapers have announced a £3 billion merger and a counter-bid is expected; Farnell Electronics has defied two leading shareholders to pay £1.85 billion for the US-based Pre mier Industrial Corporation. Bids and deals are now running close to

£300 billion a year. It is staggering. More ominously still, there are growing signs that the major pension funds and insurance companies are in cahoots with predator companies to launch these bids and deals, offering as they do high share prices and good short-term performance for institutional investors.

Andrew Dickerson, Heather Gibson and Euclid Tsakalotos from the University of Kent have sent me an intriguing study of how a capital market of uncommitted shareholders interacts with managers frightened of a takeover to produce an economy which is characterised by low investment, high dividend payout ratios and frequent takeovers.

The best equilibrium is obviously

a high investment/low dividend strategy for all, but once one company goes for a high dividend/low investment strategy, every other company is forced to follow suit if it wants to retain its independence.

This is what is happening today. Companies are hiring low-paid workers and under-investing boost short-term profits - all wa to be predators rather than victim Even long-termist, decent inves ment institutions, such as Standar Life, insisting on proper standard of corporate governance, are hel less before the avalanche of boar room ego-mania and greed.

But this is just another expre sion of contemporary power retions. We are living through a gre empowerment of capital in a ve particular financial system and m inderstanding the byproducts. Le wages do not presage a new N vana or an efficient labour mark they are the result of a system m function that inexorably generat low investment and low growt glomerate BET; Granada, fresh Watch as the drama plays itself out, from its takeover of Trust House

in Brief

between debt-laden Eurotunnel and its 225 banks. Negotiations for a \$12.4 billion refinancing package are deadlocked.

FINANCE 19

EUTERS, the media and in-🗖 formation group, maintained a 10-year record of profit growth, posting \$928 million for 1995.

LOYDS TSB, the newly merged UK bank, announced \$2.6 billion pre-tax profit amid mion warnings that it was seeking 650 branch closures involving 10,000 job losses.

THORN EMI is to become the latest British group to "demerge" by splitting into an EMI led music business and an electrical retailing operation.

ORD car workers in Britain have voted not to strike over a package to raise pay by 9.25 per cent over two years but do nothing to cut the working week.

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HEY have been marching in Paris, demonstrating in Bonn, reduce funded student places by holding sit-ins in Rome, After years of burying their heads in books, students across Europe are beginning to make tentative complaints about their lot.

In Germany and France they can queue for hours to find seats in a lecture hall. In Britain and the Netherlands, grants barely cover the cost of basic food and accommodation, and young people are receiving more of their financing through loans, which must be repaid once they find the jobs that are increasingly hard to secure.

Scenes of Parisian students marching down the Boulevard Saint-Germain last November evoked memories of the demonstrations in 1968. But this time the theme uniting young people across the European Union is not ideological but practical. The common fear is unemployment; the common demand is for an education to keep them ahead in the European jobs market and for the money

Π "-

The trouble is there is less public money around. Budgets across Europe are becoming tighter as governments struggle to meet the criteria for European monetary union.

In Germany, a budget deficit of DM 6 billion (\$4 billion) has squeezed every part of public-sector

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reduce funded student places by 15,000 within 10 years, while the number of actual students will stay roughly the same.

Nearly two bodies occupy every student seat in the average German university. Thirty years ago, university heads and politicians agreed to accept swollen student numbers temporarily, expecting them to have

fewer 18-year-olds. Instead, with more than a third of young people now wanting to go to university the situation is worse than ever.

fallen back by this time because of

Increasingly, intake on courses is being restricted, something which goes directly against the German principle of higher education being open to everyone who passes their school leaving diploma (Abitur).

Recent money-spinning ideas have included charging wealthier students tuition fees and demanding interest on loans. Both have sparked protests from young peoole, who late last year staged demonstrations in Bonn.

Meanwhile, in France, the number of students entering higher education has risen by 83 per cent over the past 20 years and government policy is to increase it still further.

Efforts to meet Maastricht crispending, including higher educa- teria have left little public cash to pay for this expansion. Universities say they need millions to pay off existing debts, let alone employ extra staff. Students are also demanding the kind of personalised contact with lecturers experienced by their counterparts in England, feeling it will prepare them better for work.

November's student strike started when Rouen students demanded more money to pay for 188 new leaching posts at their university. in the Netherlands, overcrowding

is less of a problem but, unlike the French, the Dutch government is determined to reduce student numbers. Ministers hope to see the number of young people entering higher education drop from 185,000 to 40,000 by 2004 and are looking for cuts amounting to 200 million guilders (\$120 million). Twenty years ago, the Dutch

overnment's policy was to allow veryone the chance to go to university. Now it claims there are no onger enough jobs for graduates. and young people should be encouraged to develop technical skills in-Opponents say it is simply a way of saving money. But it is not the

only savings scheme. All students at Dutch universities now receive a grant of about 470 guilders (\$285) per month if they live away from home, plus a loan. From September all grants will become loans that must be repaid, unless the student achieves a high enough exam grade at the end of the year.

Conditions vary considerably in



Uncertain future . . . fear of unemployment has led students is Paris and across Europe to take to the streets 116 NO AMELYASING

Italy, from the packed lecture halls | Netherlands means that Dokto of Rome's La Sapienza university with more than 150,000 undergraduates in an institution originally designed for 30,000 — to the relative quiet of Ferrara.

Education ministers have tried to solve financial problems by encouraging more private investment, although this has proved controversial with students. Sit-ins have become a common part of university life, with protests over staff shortages, understocked libraries and over-full lecture halls.

Problems in individual countries can no longer be treated in isolation as a period of study abroad increasingly becomes a must for EU students. Overcrowding in French universities handicaps foreign undergraduates studying there as much as French students. Pressure

nuclies are being sent for training to other European countries.

Governments are torn between he need to meet financial criteria for inclusion in monetary union ad their desire to produce an educated workforce able to compete one they get there. Their proposed solo tions vary, but most hit students & ther financially or in their studying conditions.

European education specials Professor Claudius Gellert, profes sor of education at Reading University, said he was surprised that students were not making more fuss under the appalling circum stances faced by some. German sadent Nicolai Andler was more pragnatic. He said most young people were so worried about working to secure their own futures that they on courses such as medicine in the | had little time left for protesting.

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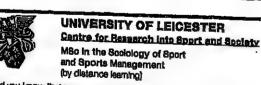
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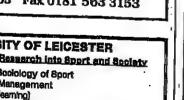
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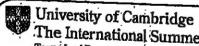
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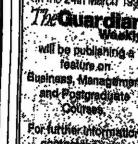
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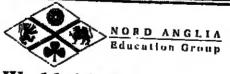
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# Rallying cry from a troubadour

comes with a political

conscience. Interview

by Richard Williams

his friends Crosby, Stills and Nash,

ative thought into worthwhile music.

years ago, comes from the fortunate

generation of rock musicians who

won their platinum discs and their

mansions in the Hollywood Hills

without needing to make any great

display of ambition. The world was

expanding, the audience was ex-

ploding, and success came to these

musicians as a reward for doing ex-

actly what they wanted to do. If their

record company had a marketing

department, they didn't need to

know where to find it. Some of them

are dead now, others are moribund.

Browne is one of the few to remain

on speaking terms with his original

talent, capable every two or three

years of generating a bunch of new

songs that can remind his old listen-

On tour, no 47-year-old exudes

more of a sense of unspoilt fresh-

ness; physically and vocally he ap-

ers of the power of Late For The Sky, The Pretender and In The

the realities of their own lives.



Susan Parry and Elizabeth Connell get to grips with the most

### Masterful Tristan

Andrew Clements salutes David Alden's brilliant staging of Wagner's Tristan And Isolde at the Coliseum

Opera's new staging of Tris
Opera's new staging of Tristan And Isolde is the finest, most serious and considered piece of opera-making to come out of London's Coliseum in the past three years. The partnership of director David Alden and conductor Mark Elder produced some of the most striking productions of the Powernouse years in the eighties and now, brought together again by the new regime, they have come up with a reading of the most dramatically problematic of all Wagner's masterpieces that answers almost every question that could be asked of it.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

The linchpin of the success is Elder's account of the score; he sets the standard for the long evening with an account of the prelude that is profound, deeply eloquent and yet marvellously flexible, and goes on o pace every section with the same care and searching intelligence.

Elder's concern for the singers, the space he allows them and the dramatic shape he imposes on each act are all models of operatic communication. With such firm musical support, Elizabeth Connell's fresh, inconventional Isolde can establish herself from her very first proud, resentful lines; there may not be the massive surges of vocal power of a singer in the great Wagnerian tradition, but instead there is a care with shading, and with a precise weighting of words and phrases that elivers every detail of the text.

a £20 million renovation. Known as the Palais Garnier

after its 19th century architect,

the house reopens officially on

March 1, with a concert perfor-

Giovanni, writes Paul Webster,

uilding will overturn a Socialist

government decision to separate

allet and opera, with the latter

eing restricted to the Bastille

Its reopening has taken on a special significance after fire

heatre, opened in 1989.

The return of lyric perfor-

nances to the 126-year-old

mance of Mozart's Don

of early German opera from which he developed his language, but still makes the final Liebestod as touching and conclusive, if not as overwhelming as could be wished for. George Gray's shambling Tristan is much more rough and ready; his sound is not very attractive, but it is thoroughly effective. On the stage, discipline is all;

Alden's direction never wastes a gesture. Ian MacNeil's designs furnish the first two acts with a threatening. brick wall patched with stucco and a reflective metallic sheen, with just a hint of the sea in the first act when part of the wall rises to reveal a ship's wheel and a scrap of rigging. The third act, when the opera has abandoned reality, is played out on a bare stage, wonderfully lit by Wolf-the realities of their own lives. gang Goebbel. This Tristan and Isokle are

wrapped in their own private worlds of feeling, as if the love that is released by the clixir is much more about self-discovery than mutual devotion. They sing their climactic love duet as far apart physically as the stage will allow, and in the third act. all the protagonists move in their individual orbits around the dying Tristan, oblivious of each other.

It is a bleak, superbly realised ending, and like every detail in this production the clear-result of meticulous care and thought.

Bolshoi theatre, and the closure

of Covent Garden for renovation

Apart from the installation of

computer-controlled technology

for stage machinery, air-condi-

tioning and new safety tech-

niques, interior renovation has

Garnier's original plans.

But purists who hoped that
Marc Chagall's 1964 ceiling

would be taken down will be dis-

Blazy, France's culture minister.

sald: "It has become part of the

Opera tradition."

appointed. Philippe Douste-

neticulously respected Charles

It's singing that often looks back (+44 171-832 8300)

A FTER 18 months of silence, destroyed the l'enice opera house in Venice, the increasir

Hall in London in 1972, alone with his guitar and the romantic songs from his debut album, a record that helped define the coming wave of West Coast rock. : . His new record, Looking East, is In no sense a radical departure from

its 10 predecessors. There are snatches of lite rook, snippets of So-Cal reggae, harmonies glowing like a Malibu sunset, a palette of intelli-Performances until March 16

gent guitar and keyboard textures, and a lot of wry boy-man intelli-gence in lyrics that deal with the American condition all the way from French opera house reopens the barrio to the White House. "I suppose there are some themes running through it;" he replied when I asked what had been his prehouse in Venice, the increasing

> For all the straightforward ranting of a song called information wars ("in the flickering light and the comforting glow/You get the world every night as a TV show/The latest spin on the shit we're in, blow by blow/And the more you watch the less you know'), it's possible to detect a change of focus from the political to the personal, even in songs ostensibly dealing with issues rather than emotions. The battle lines no longer seem as clear in the mind of a man long active in a variety of cam-

Jackson Browne's music ally a whole album — 1986's Lives In The Balance — to an attack on US foreign policy in the Reagan-

"As far as activism goes," he says, "I've always felt like a foot soldier. Music has its place in any kind of struggle, as a rallying cry. But it's not a vanguard thing. You don't E WAS the golden boy of the golden age of West Coast rock, the epitome of the sevwrite a song and expect millions of enties singer-songwriter, the sensi-tive troubadour whose output people to turn up. Songs have to connect with something that people

ranged from the political to the perare already dealing with." sonal, reflecting a concern for the The problem now is that the US environment and US foreign policy government has become expert in alongside encoded references to an what Noam Chornsky calls "the eventful love-life that stretched from manufacture of consent": "A great many people tried to keep the United States from invading Nico to Daryl Hannah. Inevitably, ackson Browne's position in today's irmament is less certain. He isn't Nicaragua as they had in Panama dead, so he doesn't have the mysand Grenada. In the Pentagon, they tique of Tim Buckley or Tim Hardin. got so much opposition to a war in He isn't a living hero to a new generation, like Neil Young. He hasn't Nicaragua that now they just don't ell you about the next one until it's veered off into painting, like Jonl Mitchell. On the other hand, unlike nappened and they've brought it to you with a designer name: Desert Storm. They're getting better and he can still turn the stirrings of crebetter at presenting their agenda to the American people." Browne, whose career began 30

Many of the parameters of his job have changed, and it is not always easy to adjust to the new realities. \*1 know that when my record company asks me to go on a morning TV show, they're thinking, That's where his audience is. They've got kids, they're awake giving them the Pop Tarts and orange juice and putting them on the school bus.' I nave no idea if that's true. I certainly don't think that by going on Good Morning America I've sold any more records. I try to update, because you have to reach an audience which is constantly renewing itself. I think my records are more lyric-oriented than most of the music out there. That's something that was more prevalent in the seventies. But lots of other people do that now, too.

"I could be doing other things at this point," he says. "But I love making music. It still does the same thing for me, which is to clarify things and

going on inside me and in the world. And it's a pleasure being with the people you get to work with."

In the early eighties he could sell five million copies of an album. Those days are gone, but it is hard to leave the expectations behind. "I don't expect to sell that many now, but I'd like to sell more than I do. It's not the measuring stick for me, although I recognise that with Lives In The Balance I would like to have reached a lot more people because I was trying to add my voice to a cho-rus and change US policy. If that had sold five million records, it would have been wonderful. In fact it didn't sell very many."

takes place on a more intimate scale. He still gets angry quickly when he starts talking about "arseholes like Dole and Gingrich", and at Christmas he sent his friends a book published by Fairness And Accuracy In Reporting, a media watchdog organisation with a left-liberal temperament, cataloguing the distortions propagated by the right-wing pundit Rush Limbaugh. But his real involvement is with the music programmes of a couple of Los Angeles schools, finding recording work and donating time in his studio for a gospel choir at one and helping with hardware for the instrumental players at the other.

Prolonged exposure to gospel nusic has not turned him into a believer but it has made him think about what the world needs. "For someone like myself, not a Christian, to recognise the talent, the inspiration and the brilliance in that choir, well, eventually even I have to recognise that this is about God. Political solutions have to begin with some sort of personal enlightenment, and I think that most people in my country are in need of some illumination. And I include myself."

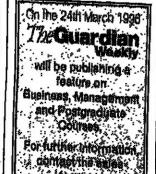




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Tim Radford

A Bedside Nature: Genius and Eccentricity in Science 1869-1953 Edited by Walter Gratzer Macmillan Magazines 280pp £19.95

ATURE is a magazine with a long history and a quite unassailable position as the world's most distinguished science journal. In this bedside compilation, Walter Gratzer demonstrates something quite unexpected. It could also be one of the world's most diverting journals.

Open at randon. Page 80 has the tail-end of the calculation of a complex new algorithm for determining the day of the week for any known calendar date, "I am not a rapid computer myself," says the author, "and as I find my average time for doing any such question is 20 seconds. I have little doubt that a rapid computer would not need 15".

The algorithm, which would take most people 20 minutes to remember, let alone operate, is signed by Lewis Carroll. Im-mediately after | evolved out of the inexhaustible inac- | ("It made me wonder whether

John Sturrock

by Frederick Brown

Macmillan 888pp £25

Zola: A Life

Lonely traveller

comes a short announcement of the death of Alexander Borodin, profes- All this treasure is on two consecusor of chemistry at the Medico-Surgical Academy at St Petersburg, and, of course, even better known

This is followed by a brisk account of the proposals of Monsieur Arnaudeau for a double postal tube, one metre wide, running between Dover and Calais. Along each tube would run a little train of 10 to 15 wagons on rails driven by "compressed and rarefied air, actuating a A certain P G Tait devotes much

hought to the physics of golf; there is a short news report about plans by Or Fridtjof Nansen, of the Bergen Museum, to cross the interior of Greenland on skis ("viz. the snow runners found so advantageous durng the last Nordenskiold expedition across that continent.") And, in the last column on page 81, there is Thomas Henry Huxley taking a meat cleaver to the quivering carcass of the Duke of Argyll: "As fast as old misrepresentations are refuted." he writes, "new ones are counts the number of brush strokes

labour"). Frederick Soddy laments that the education system favours learning of the classics, but not tive pages of a work which opens with an editorial by Darwin's bulldog, Huxley, and closes with a letter

on the molecular structure of nucleic

acids, by J D Watson and F H Crick.

which contains the immortal under-

statement: "It has not escaped our

notice that the specific pairing we

have postulated immediately sug-

gests a possible copying mechanism

In between, there are extraordi-

nary jewels. Someone describes the

first Remington type-writing ma-

chine; someone else ponders the

chemistry of human cremation. H G

Wells pops up again and again,

directly or indirectly, opining here

on land transport, there on racist

There is a report of an exhibition

of bed hangings made from Mada-

gascar spider's silk by the Antana-

narivo Technical School. Ernest

Rutherford weighs in on the struc-

ture of the atom. Francis Galton sits

for his portrait twice and each time

wrote during his life. After the vi-

cious suppression of the Paris Com-

mune in 1871 Zola reported from

Versailles on the parliamentary pro-

He did so with contempt at their

dishonesty and their ignorance. If

Zola belonged anywhere politically

the left had been just as rough in de-

nouncing his novels as the right.

A familiar intellectual position

except that Zola seemed to think

that he should have the influence

and publicity that went to the politi-

cians. By 1879, eight years into the

new régime, he was declaring that The Republic will live or the Re-

public will not live depending on

whether it accepts or rejects our method. The Republic will be natu-

ralist, or not be at all" - an embar-

rassing piece of megalomania. And

20 years later, when he became a

world hero for his intervention -

the front-page blast known as J'Ac

Zola danned the lot of them.

ceedings of the incipient Third Re

for the genetic material."

There is a 1938 reprint from a German journal warning that sei ence represents the key position from which "intellectual Judalsm can always regain a significant influence on all spheres of national life".

So this Jewish spirit should be purged. French prisoners of war in Oflag XVIIA founded their own University of Edelbach and did a thorough geological examination of the 400-metre-square region inside the barbed wire, and of course,

Nature is, of course, still in busi ness, more widely circulated than ever. It is not, however, more widely read by ordinary mortals, being

A pity: in the very first extract, Huxley has someone say: "The priests of Science must consent to use the vernacular, before they will ever make a profound impression upon the heart of humanity." There is a foreword by that votary of the vernacular, Stephen Jay Gould.

He thinks Professor Gratzer's

from the robust journalism that Zola own. "May my works perish if Drey fus is not innocent.'

> Venice-born engineer who was robbed posthumously of both money and prestige by the authorities of Aix-en-Provence, until his tion for him. His father's death when he was only seven meant that Zola and his mother lived in poverty for years in Paris. When he finally had money he bought land and house in Médan, and lived the life of a vulgar, riverine bourgeois, forever building: on extra rooms and then overfurnishing them (and himself: his waist measurement went up to

> OLA DIED in 1902, at 62, poisoned by carbon monoxide escaping from a blocked flue. Many at the time thought it was murder, that the flue had been tampered with by antistove-fitter reportedly confessed to the crime on his death-bed in 1927.

He went to places he meant to write about --- down a coal-mine before starting on Germinal - or talked to those who had been there. He wouldn't let up because he was afraid he would lapse into Indolence, the same degenerative flaw Books@ // Guardian Weekly

his own account, chronic self-doubt. He alternated between the certainty that he was a genius and the other certainty that he was nothing.

> Airmail postage costs: Hardback - £3,95 Paperback -- £1.95

Zola did well by Dreyfus (and Dreyfus did well by Zola) enabling him to play a role Brown shows him as having played throughout his life: of self-righteous rescuer of the hard

But if myth attaches to Zola's n the way a "scientist" should.

that dogged the Rougon-Macquarts.

Frederick Brown gives us Zola in

painters had mastered the art of get-ting the maximum result from their from the real world

Laura Tennant

The Insult by Rupert Thomson Bloomsbury 416pp £15.99

MAGINATION isn't a word much used these days, with regard to novelists. We tend to associate it with Romanticism, or the fairy dusting of magte realism, but certainly not with harsh contemporary concerns Serious novelists, the wisdom goes, have to situate their books in the real world. Rupert Thomson possesses a powerful creative talent which frees him

from such constraints. He has an extraordinary capa city to construct a parallel universe - tantalisingly reminiscent of our own while being governed. as it were, by slightly different rules. The result is a form of hyper-realism, an intensity of gaze which gives his recreated

worlds a shocking freshness. Place has been central to all Thomson's novels but they are also disconcertingly unstable and non-specific. Dreams Of Leaving, his first book, imagine a village in England as a ministate cut off from all contact with the outside world: The Five Gates Of Hell takes place in a

fictional city, in what we guess to be America, which specialises in funeral parlours; and Air And Fire gives a surreal twist to 19th-century Mexico. Reading them, the lack of any fixed gen-

graphical reference points makes you uncertain of your moral standpoint. Thomson also tends to create despicable characters, only to imbue them with an emotional complexity, making a glib response impossible.

The Insult, we gather, is set in some bleak East European city and later in the country's primitive hinterland. Its hero, Blom, is blinded in a shooting but ther miraculously recovers his sight and falls in love with the clusive Nina. When Nina disappears he embarks on a mission to find her, but instead becomes the unwilling recipient of a tale of inter generational incost and murder, which is confessed to him by the owner of a hotel, Mrs Hekmann, in Nina's home village.

Stories of absence, from Nina's disappearance to Blom's missing sight, fill these pages and find an echo in our nagging sense that the entire book is a hallucination on the part of the hospitalised Blom. The writing. as ever with Thomson, is wonderful, the conclusions most uncomfortable.

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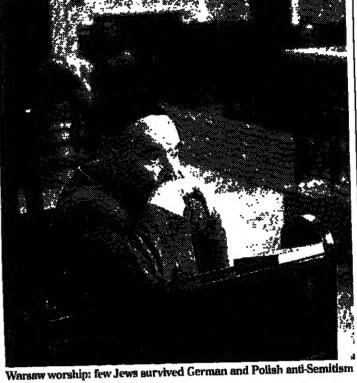
### The lost tribe of Europe

Vanishing Diaspora: the Jews In Europe Since 1945 by Bernard Wasserstein Hamish Hamilton 332pp £20

THIS book is an obituary for modern European Jewry. Bernard Wasserstein suggests that what the Nazis began in 1933 continues today as a suicidal journey towards the oblivion of assimilation. He believes intermarriage and apathy will soon reduce Jews to an exotic memory of a lost tribe, like the American Indians. Although his thesis is not original,

this social and political modern history of post-war European diaspora Jewry is. Surprisingly, it is the first such study to appear in print. Born in London in 1948. Wasserstein traces his generation's experience across European borders. His viewpoint is secular, liberal and, occasionally, healthily angry. Vanishing Diaspora sometimes reads like a thriller.

Why, after Auschwitz, does the Jewish Question refuse to disappear? Although he poses the question, Wasserstein never fully answers it and, oddly enough at the end of Chapter Five (Facing The Past), accuses modern Jewry of "an almost necrophiliac obsession with the Holocaust". This statement denies Bruno Bettelheim's assertion that those who cannot bury their dead re-



main petrified with unresolved grief. The overall effect of Wasserstein's examination shows how awkwardly most of Europe dealt with the Nazi past. British attitudes

are as complex as those of Britain's

Nazi-occupied neighbours, Churchill

draw a sponge across the crimes and horrors of the past". For most Jews, Poland is one of

swung from an ardent belief in the

necessary punishment of war crimi-

nals to deciding it was better "to

the most troubling of countries. How

can post-Holocaust Poland, without its Jews, remain one of the most anti-Semitic of European nation states? Wasserstein blames the Church fo erecting Catholic memorials in Auschwitz and shows how anti-Semitism was encouraged by the warring institutions of the Catholic church and the Communist ruling party. He also acknowledges the complexity of modern Poland and ultimately refuses to see the country merely in terms of dual anti-Semitic powers quoting the Polish Catholic Jerzy Turowicz's sensitive message to his Church: "Auschwitz represents for the Jews . . . the symbol of the passivity of other nations in the face of heir destruction." Left and right also appear as anti-semitic partners Nearly 30 years later, Wasser-

stein reveals a modern republic glorying in its image as a bastion of olerance and secular revolutionary values while functioning as a centralised, still-Catholic imperial power. François Mitterrand's death certainly incarnates the difference between rhetoric and reality. It was only while dying of cancer that he confessed his fascist past. Mitter-rand's extraordinary funeral reinforced this schizophrenia. The self-proclaimed agnostic arranged two simultaneous funeral masses. On television the French watched the Jewish Archbishop of Paris, Monsignor Lustiger (converted to Catholicism as a child in

hiding), celebrate the journey of Mitterrand's sanctified soul to

The ability to make weapons

and thus magnify the power of their aggressive drives laid down the blueprint for the species who followed. *Homo habilis*, "handy

man" and the oldest member of

the genus Homo, was a primitive

Lastly, Tudge asks, what are

the chances of Homo suplens

lasting another million years?

is still our biggest threat, but

material acquisitiveness may be even more dangerous. The nec-essary plundering of the Earth's

resources may lead to devas-

tating climatic changes. A des-perate reining in needs to take place, Tudge believes, or the

planet may suffer immense

damage thousands of years into

beings, who have harnessed fire and flown to the Moon, can also

tell the real time is open to seri-

ous doubt.

the future. But whether human

times of danger.

Chris Petit Done Deal, by Les Standiford Macmilian, £15.99) FLORIDA must boast more classy crime writers per square mile than anywhere on earth. Here's another, writing that tight, shruggy, slightly illiterate prose in the manner of Elmore Leonard; a sure sign that the author is a professor of creative writing. One flaw aside - overlong mourning sequence when the reader knows the hero's wife is still alive - and silly Spillane-like names apart (Deal Straight), this pushes the right buttons, jazzing up a routine plot civic corruption, property and baseball scam - with smart vernacular, violence with relish and plenty of

**Thrillers** 

Truth, by Patrick Dillon (Michael Joseph, £15.99)

stylish attitude.

ROGUE copper determines to nail his man for murder, by forging his confession, after losing him on a previous charge involving a senseless thrill killing of a tramp. This try-hard first novel has some of the late Derek Raymond's preoccupations -- violence and the absurd, obsessive revenge, dodgy property deals, class counter jumping, London as rat run, metropolitan anomie - but lacks his revenant's imagination and vision ary sadism.

Plot Twist, by Eric Adams (Hodder & Stoughton, £16.99)

FAIR premise, sledge-hammer irony, and a case of the biter bit when an unscrupulous true crimejourno has his son kidnapped and suffers heavy privacy invasion. The ransom note demands his severed hands for little Timmy's safety, but the neatness of the conceit falters and the novice novelist's inexperience shows - silliness and false suspense the result.

The Serpent's Tail, by Martin Dillon (RCB, £8.99)

DILLON, known for gritty documentary books on the Northern Ireland conflict, uses material from his The Dirty War for a first novel with a detailed grasp of the mind-boggling things done in the name of secrecy, here an ingenious sting pulled off by British intelligence in 1974 at the expense of the Provisionals. Two youths turned by the security forces are used to infiltrate the IRA and plant disinformation to discredit the hardline leadership.

deal with the outside world, and have not been selected, Tudge emphasises, to cope with introspection, as our failure to under stand our own consciousness

EAST meets West when leading Muslims at a Dublin conference get kidnapped by Christian fundanentalists whose dead

MINERVA PRESS

MILE ZOLA believed that ■ hard work was the answer; if hard work was the answer; it had saved him and it would save society. His next to last book was called, all too simply, Travail and was meant for a novel, the third his silence were a further gauge of

of four planned to serve as progressive "gospels" for the new 20th centheir authenticity. tury. Travail is today defunct both as fiction and as a sermon. It came from the side of Zola we forget about, from the spiritual dictator who hardly seems to fit with the profane realist glorying in the output of what his bien-pensant critics

This wasn't a description that caused Zola any grief because rot-tenness is what the best of his novels (L'Assommoir, Nana) are about. His big theme — a topical one in France in the years of his literary prime - is that of degeneration Born in 1840, he came to believe that the national stock was running morally and physically down, and many of his plots illustrate this concern, tracking the fortunes of a single family. These are the Rougon-Macquarts, a demonic brood who, in the 20 novels in which they appear, display all the

called "putrid literature".

*kumaine*, or a congenital flaw that is Zola's medical textbook version of Original Sin. Yet the novel cycle also has its nobler episodes and its unlikely altruists, illustrating that Zola was not looking exclusively on the black side. And it is one of the successes of Frederick Brown's new biography that he brings both Zolas, the virtuoso of putrescence and the social visionary, so seamlessly

Zola wasn't so much a contradictory figure, as one who was often misleading (or else misled) when he said what his intentions were as a novelist. He was a Romantic who couldn't bear to be thought of as-

one. Romanticism was limp, dreamy, obsolete; he, in contrast, would be tough, factual, modern, a Naturalist writer and, as such, the implacable servant of the "truth". The truth necessarily meant all the terrible things that go on in society which are normally kept from view, and because the Naturalist had to be "scientific", in keeping with the times he lived in, he would show these things without comment, as if .

This doctrine meant that Zola -

until he later relented and turned. gospeller - could not be the overtly moral or political novelist that his master in fiction, Balzac, had been: Balzac thought that a degenerate France needed a king and the church; Zola thought that it was well rid of the one and cience would inevitably rid it of the other. He was a positivist in his philosophy and a Republican in his

cuse — on behalf of the unjustly convicted Captain Dreyfus, there was a telling failure to But to stay with any one. party was unthinkable. Zola travelled alone. separate the fate of the. officer from his

grosser appetites of the age.

The Rougon-Macquarts are dragged fatally down by the bêts

LLUSTRATION: CLEANDRE, FROM THE COMIC MAGAZINE LE PIRE, 1897.

The first was his own father, a

Dreyfusards. It's a possibility:

death, his life was the reverse of mythical. It was nothing but travail. He wrote four pages every day, with few crossings out; and before he began a novel, he informed himself

Behind his industry there lay, by

full, the vociferous public man and the neurotic, inhibited private one. Eight hundred pages are a lot, but then Zola didn't stint when he wrote, so his biographer can say in his defence that he could but be true to his subject.

# Collision of freedoms

**Roy Hattersley** The Age of Rights by Norberto Bobbio

THERE is no doubt about the basic principle which dominates the essays that make up The Age Of Rights. It is asserted time after time in the text. "The fundamental problem concerning human rights today s not so much how to justify them but how to protect them." That problem, Norberto Bobbio insists, is "political not philosophical". However, he still plays the philosophical game. Is it, he asks, possible to define those freedoms which, having been morally and intellectually justified, should be universally accepted and respected? He comes to what, a first, seems a gloomy conclusion. There are so many ways of defining "inalienable rights" and so many theories of how they are derived, that it is virtually impossible to create an objective test against which the con-

Polity 168pp £45 hbk £12.95 pbk

But do not despair. The Impossibility of setting out a cogent and con-vincing list of essential freedoms sald that human rights were much respected during the period when the learned all agreed that they had found an irrefutable argument for their defence." In any case, "the strongest argument presented by

duct of all governments should be

DO YOU HAVE A" BOOK TO PUBLISH? Then leading independent publisher may be able to help you. THE PENTLAND PRESS IDINBURGH CAMBRIDGE BURNAM ISA Seltorial Office (WC) 1 Huston Close, South Jurch, Bishop Auckland, Dizham DL14 6XE

reactionaries in all countries against human rights . . . is not their founda tions, but their impracticability". So we have a professor of philosophy arguing that theoretical speculation is less important than practical action, promotion, monitoring and guaran tees. But some of the conceptual problems remain and practice can only be improved by understanding the theory. It is "safeguards within the state" which are the main feature of the current phase. "Safeguards against the state" are more difficult to achieve "without an international jurisdiction able to impose itself on national jurisdictions". Until that exlsts, the British government will be

able to reject the adjudication of the European Court of Human Rights. It is the obsession with indepen-dence that impedes supra-national supervision of the way in which civil rights are protected. So, as far as a universal code of rights is concerned, the 19th century gave with one hand and took away with the other. It was also the age of enlightenment which complicated the debate with the belated discovery that there are positive as well as negative

If (with Kant) we believe that the does not prevent the world from becoming a better place. "It cannot be and (like Hobbes and Spinoza) we sence of restraint, all the rights arguments fall neatly into place. But once we begin to talk about "freedom to" as well as "freedom from", the issue becomes more complicated. For reedoms collide. In short, helping the poor penalises the rich. That creates a major dilemma for radical politicians who want to win elections

in an affluent society. There will not be a genuine radical revival in Britain until those who claim to be in the vanguard of such movements take an interest in the principles by which their conduct should be guided.

#### All our yesterdays for raising the physiological tempo and focusing the mind at

The Day Before Yesterday: Five Million Years of Human History by Colin Tudge Cape 390pp £18.99

NOWHERE is the human sense of time so out of step with the real clocks that turn our world as in the field of evolution ary biology. For most of us the day before yesterday is a fading memory of meals, phone calls and parking tickets. But as Colin Tudge points out in his vast history of humanity, in terms of human evolution, yesterday is the past 40,000 years, when our species became its present self, nd the day before yesterday is the 5 million years during which we evolved from our most primitive ancestors.

Tudge, a zoologist and prize-winning science writer, quotes George Santayana's "those who annot remember the past are ondemned to repeat it", and applies this to our evolution past, pointing out that nothing in the future is fixed.

For the past 50 million years the Earth has been steadily cooling, despite a few brief tropical reversals. Climatic shifts have been the main engine of evolutionary change, and the genus Homo probably emerged after a burst of planetary cooling 21/4 million years ago. But the gains and losses of climatic change are hard to calculate. The genus Homo became the

aggression-driven predator we remain to this day. Tudge describes the controlled outbreaks of victous temper that sustained our hominid forebears during their attacks on the precursors of zebra and hyena. Aggression, Tudge says, is a survival tactic

toolmaker, fashloning clubs and axe-heads. This compact beween brain and hand Tudge sees as perhaps the most signifi-cant feed-back loop in the life-

time of our planet. A rapid acceleration of brain capacity took place, and Homo

apiens, the first modern man, appeared in Africa some 120,000 years ago and began his migration into Europe and Asia. By the end of the Pleistocene, roughly 8000BC, he had colonised most of the world's great land masses. But our brains had evolved to

> The Day of Wrath, by Daniel Easterman (HarperCollins,

known from 1993's world headlines. is found still alive and twice as barking. A routine chase is enlivened by rivairies and unpredictable alliances.

**NEW AUTHORS PUBLISH YOUR WORK** ALL SUBJECTS CONSIDERED Fiction. Non-Fiction, Biography. AUTHORS WORLD-WIDE INVITED

OOR starts and nervous finishes are the bane of tournament players. Boris Spassky used to lose first rounds, blaming his "slow emotions", until he cured himself by playing clock exhibitions against candidate masters a few days beforehand.

A final-round defeat in a title or qualifying event can trigger the nervous-finish syndrome, as happened to Bronstein in the 1958 interzonal or to Hubner in his 1971 match with Petrosian. And if I could have stopped British championships at chosen times between munds six and 10. I would have had three outright titles instead of just one shared.

Michael Adams displayed a new and mysterious chess disease recently at Zurich, Groningen and the Hoogovens tournament in Wijk-aan-Zee. Collapsing with losses in midtournament, he suddenly revived with a series of wins. Find a cure, Michael, and you won't have to worry about too few invitations.

#### Adams-Dreev, Wijk 1996, French 3 Nd2

1 e4 e6 2 d4 d5 3 Nd2 c5 4 exd5 Qxd5 5 Ngf3 cxd4 6 Bc4 Qd6 7 0-0 Nf6 8 Nb3 Nc6 9 Nbxd4 Nxd4 10 Nxd4 a6 11 Rel Qc7 12 Bb3 Bd6 13 Nf5 Bxh2+ 14 Kh1 0-0 15 Nxg7 Apparently spectacular, but this is still well-trodden ground. If Kxg7 16 g3 Bxg3 17 Rg1 favours White. Rd8 16 Qf3 Kxg7 17 Bh6+

Kg6 Kxh6? loses to 18 Qxf6+ Kh5 19 Re3. 18 c3 Nd5 19 Rad1! The game really starts, and effectively finishes, with this improvement on the book 19 Bc1.

White's attack is worth more than a single piece. Adams may well have a reputation for homespun theory, but he's the world's leading expert on the white side of the 3 Nd2 c5

f5 If Kxh6 20 Bxd5 Rxd5 21 Rxd5 exd5 22 Qf6+ Kh5 23 g3 and Re5+ wins. 20 Bc1 Bd6 21 Bxd5 exd5 22 Rxd5 Bd7 23 Qh3 Bf8 24 Re3 Kg7 25 Rg3+ Kh8 26 Qh4 Be6 27 Bf4 Be7 28 Bxc7 Re- or Ne2) Kxe5 2 Rd5, Traps are 1 Re?? signs. If Bxh4 29 Be5+ mates.

Adams-Hubner, Wijk 1996, Sicilian 2 c3

l. e4 c5 2 c3 An English speciality, whose secrets will be revealed later this year in a new book by Murray Chandler. d5 3 exd5 Qxd5 4 d4 NfG 5 Nf3 Bg4 6 Nbd2 Nc6 7 Bc4!? A new concept in place of 7 dxc5 or 7 Be2. White's K-side pawns are wrecked, but he has a big lead

Bxf3 8 gxf3 Qg5?! Qd6 looks better. As played, White gains more time by harassing the Q. 9 Ne4 Qf5 10 Qe2 e6 11 Ng3 Qh3 12 d5 Nd8 13 Bb5+ Trapping the BK in the centre. Nd7 14 Bf4 a6 15 Bxd7+ Kxd7 16 0-0-0 Ke8 17 Rhe1 Be7 18 d6 Bf6 19 d7+ Kf8 20 Rd5! More attacking options on the fifth rank.

g6 21 Bd6+ Kg8 22 Nh5 Bg7
If gxh5 23 Rg1+ Bg7 24 Rdg5, 23
Rxc5 Nc6 24 Rxc6| bxc6 25 Qxa6! Black's game is hopeless with a boxed K-side and emigrant queen, and Adams finishes in style. Bh6+ 26 f4 Rd8 27 Qc8 Qh4 28 Bc7 Rf8 29 d8Q Qxh5

If Kg7 32 Be5+ f6 33 Qd7+ wins. No 2409

30 Qxf8+ Bxf8 31 Bd6 Resigns.



White mates in three, against any defence (by A Mossiawili, 1973). This can be hard to crack, but for a clue think back to our Christmas puzzle.

No 2408: 1 Nc3 (threats 2 Rd4, Nd5 Qb2 or 1 Rc5? Qh8 or 1 Nd4? Nxd2.

### A pleasant train of thought



Colin Luckhurst

OME years ago BBC television broadcast a series of programmes on Sunday evenings featuring some of the great railway journeys of the world.

I particularly remember Michael Frayn travelling the long desert width of Australia, with camels running from the track and kicking up clouds of red dust in the olistering heat as the train headed for Perth.

There were rides on the Orient Express and the Trans-Siberian, as well as the Canadian Pacific Railway. They all made good travel documentaries, spiced up by the personalities who narrated them.

At a rather more modest level, I derived my own pleasure from a railway journey from the station at Temple Meads (where evidence remains of Isambard Kingdom Brunel's original vision) to Dorchester West.

A return costs only £16 and, given the historic tract of south-west England through which the line passes, it's not bad value, especially f — a rare treat this — it actually sticks to the published timetable.

The view from the train of

railtrack runs parallel with both the Avon river and the Kennet and Avon Canal, is as pleasant as any in rural

No wonder Chris Patten, the governor of Hong Kong, has a home there (his residency dates from before he lost his seat in Bath at the last general election). But the start of that section is now changed for ever by the

massive roadworks which will one day sweep across the water meadows to the east of Bath. I was a member of the planning committee of Bath city council when the proposal went through the

consultative procedures in the late With growing traffic volumes and the misery of the residents of Batheaston it was difficult to imagine an alternative. But the heatal resolvat the earthworks, bitterly fought by the army of protesters (who have since moved on to Newbury via the

M3) has certainly ruined that

stretch of countryside. Just before the valley, the train slides through Bath, the elegant Georgian terraces of which can be admired from one's carriage as it passes by.

The train carries on to Frome and Limpley Stoke Valley, between Bath | Bruton (and Sexcy's School, a name and Bradford-on-Avon, where the | guaranteed to amuse generations of

young scholars). It passes a Saxon hilltop town, which can still be seen. and Castle Cary, travelling through green country dedicated to livestock farming.

After Everereech Junction, th line balances precariously on the edge of the gentle hills above the Somerset Levels, Yeovil Pen Mill and then a series of three halts where the timetable is marked with an "x" to indicate that the train will stop by request. Otherwise, it rolls through Thornford, Yetminster and Chetnole - fine Wessex place names - before Maiden Newton and then Dorchester West.

older England available on this route, including some gracious stone buildings and evidence of long-term harmonious settlement of the land. Just past Maiden Newton there

are some second world war fortifications beside the track, including a tank trap and machine gun blockhouse built to fight an invasion force landing on the Dorset coast.

That particular threat of invasion has long passed, of course, but the Ministry of Defence keeps its hand in by reserving to this day large stretches of coast near failworth for the military to play war games.

Football FA Cup fifth round: Manchester United 2 Manchester City 1

ANCHESTER United by a neck. Their progress to a third successive FA Cup final is starting to look inexorable if not inevitable. On Sunday fate first helped them to beat Manchester City with the aid of a harshly judged penalty, and then gave them a highly winnable quarter-final at home to Southampton or Swindon.

Should United go on to win the Cup twice in three seasons, and a record ninth time in all, the sky blue half of Manchester will no doubt be hoping that their celebratory toasts are coupled with the name of Alan

City supporters will always argue that the referee turned this tie with the penalty decision that enabled United to draw level shortly before half-time after they had fallen behind to an early goal from Rösler.

That would be putting it too simply, for United were beginning to get a grip on the play before that moment and would in all probability have dominated the second half in the way they did even if the penalty had not happened.

Butt was outstanding in midfield. and the growing influence on the flanks of Sharpe and Phillip Neville ultimately proved decisive.

There can, however, be little doubt that luck smiled on United at a crucial moment. In the 38th ninute, following a corner on the left from Giggs, Keane's header was cleared off the line by a combination of Immel and Brown. Another corner followed, and then the

This time Giggs swung the ball across too hard and high for anyone in the goalmouth to reach it. Frontzeck and Cantons jumped to- generous avenues of space opened gether as a matter of routine but I up in the approaches to goal.



Fever pitch . . . Quinn and Butt battle it out at Old Trafford

made only brief contact with one another. In the next instant, however, Wilkie was pointing to the penalty spot. Both teams appeared bailled, Old Trafford could not believe its good fortune, and Cantona sent Immel the wrong way with his kick.

"Eric said he was pulled round the neck," said Alex Ferguson, the United manager, "It's always a risk if you pull players around the neck." In fact Wilkie gave this as the reason for his decision.

Naturally, being Alan Ball, the osing manager was rather more loquacious on the subject. "Would he have given it at the other end?" he asked. "No?" Exactly.

In the opening half-hour United were unable to get to grips with City's close-passing game and whenever Kinkladze gained possession

During this period Bruce and Pal-lister looked vulnerable in United's defence. Keane and Butt, moreover, were being upstaged in midfield by Lomas and Brown while Clough's little passes kept City's rhythm con After 11 minutes City went ahead

with a goal cleverly conceived and executed. Kinkladze turned with the ball and in the same movement released it low through a square United defence.

Rösler bore down on the advance ing Schmeichel and then chipped him from just inside the penalty area. The goalkeeper managed to get a hand to the ball, but could not

Midway through the first half Ferguson switched his wings, a crucial move for Sharpe and Giggs made better headway on opposite flanks. City were still worrying United with the accuracy of their passing but were steadily cedling territory and possession before the

The second half saw much less of Kinkladze and practically nothing of Clough. United, moreover, played with the patience of a team who suspected the afternoon would eventuilly be theirs.

With 13 minutes remaining, Palister found Giggs on the left and he released Neville for the low centre that Sharpe turned smartly into the net. "No complaints about the secund half," said Ball, "it was a great goal that beat us."

Wilkie booked four United and two City players, with half the yellow cards being flourished after an early argy-bargy. He was the referee whose dismissal of Cantona at Crystal Palace preceded the Frenchman's kung-fu activities. Cantona may now have a softer spot for Wilkie than he did.

Sports Dlary Shiv Sharma

### Penalty leaves Ball seething Clampdown on drugs

sociation is set to go up by almost 100 per cent next season in a crackdown on substance abuse in the game. Just over 270 tests were carried out last season, four times that of 1994/95. This season the number will be 280 and next season

Huddersfield striker Craig Whitington has become the latest to join the list. He has been charged with misconduct by the association after a second drugs test for cannabis proved positive. The 25-year-old has been suspended by his club and given 14 days to respond to the FA

The failed tests came in the space of 10 months and he faces the prospect of a lengthy ban after becoming the first player to test positive for banned substances on two separate occasions. Roger Stanislaus of Leyton Orient was banned for a year by the FA earlier this month for cocaine use and the club later sacked him.

"We recognise there is a drugs problem in society," said the FA chief executive, Graham Kelly, "and we are determined to stop it spreading into the game."

Another footballer falling foul of

the FA was Vinnie Jones. The transfer-seeking Wimbledon midfielder was fined £2,000 for his scathing newspaper attack on Chelsea's Dutch import Ruud Gullit and other foreign players, whom he branded "squealers". The Welsh international has been docked an astonishing £26,250 in three years by the FA for his disciplinary excesses.

On the field, Leeds defeated Bolton 1-0 in the fourth round of the FA Cup, and in the replays Port Vale knocked out holders Everton 2-1, Grimsby Town thrashed West Ham 3-0 while Manchester City beat Coventry 2-1. The first leg of the Coca-Cola Cup semi-final between Arsenal and Aston Villa ended in a

BOB PAISLEY, the most successful manager in the history of English football, has died in a Merseyside nursing home, aged 77. He played more than 250 League games for Liverpool between 1946 and 1953, but made a far more significant contribution to the club as manager when he reluctantly succeeded Bill Shankly in 1974. The next nine years belonged to the softly-spoken miner's son who led the club to six Championships, three League Cups, three European

HE NUMBER of drug tests | Cups and a Uefa Cup. He was voted carried out by the Football As-

OMANIAN soccer star llie Dumitrescu plans to take his application for a work permit to the European Court of Justice in an attempt to stay in England if the Department of Employment turns lown his appeal this week. He applied for a new permit to enable to nove from Tottenham Hotspur to West Ham but his application failed on the rounds that he had not played 75 per cent of his side's firstcam games.

DEEP BLUE, the IBM computer, turned an interesting shade of pink with embarrassment after going down to Garry Kasparov in their \$400,000 chess match in Philadelphia. In the first contest between brain cells and silicon chips - organised to celebrate 50 years of computers - Kasparov, the 32year-old world champion, won 4-2, with three wins and two draws to offset the machine's historic victory in the first game.

RAIG PARRY shot a two-underpar round of 71 for 279 in Melbourne to win the Australian Masters for the third time in five years, finishing two strokes ahead of compatriot Bradley Hughes.

DICABO STREET of America captured her first world title for skiing - in the women's downhill - when she swept down the course at Sierra Nevada, Spain, in 1m 54.06sec. Olympic champion, Katja Seizinger of Germany took the silver medal in 1.54.63, ahead of Street's teammate Hilary Lindh.

THE INTERNATIONAL Hockey Federation has set up a fivemember committee to investigate claims that the India v Malaysia match at last month's Olympic qualifying tournament in Barcelona was fixed. It will meet on March 2 and announce its decision the following

T SOUNDED more like the blizzards playing havoc with electricity pylons than Macclesfield Town playing at home, carrying out a substitution, when this announcement was made: Power off and Coates on.

### Quick crossword no. 302

#### Across 1 Conflict (6) 4 Viper (5) 7 Follow (6) 8 Lottery (6) 9 Smear — to obscure (4) 10 Carnage (8) 12 Tame (11) 17 Restricted (8) 19 Reverberate (4) 20 Sower (6) 21 Mean (6) 22 Succeed (5) 23 Heavy, starchy food (6)

1 Foul (7) 2 Platform (7) 3 Lodge member (9)

4 Accumulate (5) 5 Loss (7) 6 Danced and swam (6) 11 Sea spray (9)

13 Large volume --- of public transport? (7) 14 Warded off (7 15 Intensify (7)

16 Jam -- thinly applied? (6) 18 Become hardened to (5)



Bridge Zia Mahmood

THIS was the final problem in last year's Christmas

It is just before midnight on December 31. The grand siam kitty contains £1,000, but if it is not claimed by the end of the year, it goes to the club proprietor — one E

You therefore open 7NT as South, in the hope that you will have some play for it. These are the North-South

¥A108654 ¥Q32 ♦ A32 4A 10 3 2

West leads the king of diamonds, and you make your contract, which was unbeatable after the opening lead. What is West's hand?

I'd like to congratulate the very large number of competitors who managed to solve this problem correctly - most

See next column for the full

North **10743** VA108654 49865 ♦ KJ ¥K97 ♦ KQJ **98765** 498765 ¥Q32 + A32 ♣A 1032

West needs to have precisely this hand in order for you to be able to cash six beart tricks and operate a progressive squeeze for your 12th and 13th tricks. The end position might be as shown at the top of the next

South discards a diamond (or a club) on the last heart, but West cannot move. A club discard allows the ace and 10 of clubs to be cashed, squeezing West in spades and diamonds; a spade discard allows the 10 and seven of spades to be cashed, squeezing West in the

**+ 107 2** 9 8 **№** None **♥** None 4A 10 3

allows the 10 of diamonds to be cashed, squeezing West in the As a number of entrants pointed out, West could have

beaten the contract by leading club instead of a diamond. The winner of the £100 first prize was Dennis Church,

black suits.

of Haverhill Road, London. Two runners-up, who won £50 each, were Y K Tsang, of Stoke, and Ross Pickersgill, of Cambridge.

Thanks to all of you who entered - sorry you couldn't

### Cricket World Cup: England v New Zealand

## Farsley lad rumbles England

Edward Harris in Ahmedabad

DAY ILLINGWORTH always ar-Ingues that Farsley Cricket Club and the tough Bradford League, where he cut his teeth, provide the best possible grounding for a young Much as Illingworth might enjoy

being proved right again, it must have pained the England manager last week to watch the latest Farsley product push his side to a sixth successive one-day defeat. This time it was not South Africa and the hostile thrusts of Allan Don-

ald but Alimedabad and the gentle probings of New Zealand. However, the performance and result were Just as miserable. England lost their World Cup

opener by 11 runs and the architect cess was 24-year-old Nathan Astle of 239 for six — the highest made at that was just about that. who, unlike many of the rebuilt Kiwi side, was not unknown to Illing-

England's manager has seen plenty of the well-organised opener at Farsley. Astle, who spent two cation at the club, could have been stopped dead in his tracks on one, but Graham Thorpe failed to hold this week will probably see them summers improving his cricket eduon to a low slip chance in Dominic Cork's second over of the day. Astle

through.

Defeat, however, was, as Illing: England 228.

century in his last 11 one-day inter-

Thorpe's drop was the most difficull of four chances put down by England. "The missed catches were vital," sald England's captain Mike Atherion. "We could have had them two for two at one stage. The fielding was poor but I don't think our general performance — the batting and the bowling — could be faulted

Thorpe also dropped the other New Zealand opener Craig Spear-man on one while Atherton and Cork spilled sitters that, while not costly, were symptomatic of a team whose fielding is at best a handleap and at worst a liability.

The result should make little difference to England's chances of

worth agreed, "a blow to the pride. We expected to beat New Zealand and we didn't." England's reply was tripped up on

leaving the blocks when Atherton was bowled in Dion Nash's first over. The England captain momenlarily caused astonishment among the 20,000 crowd by refusing to leave his crease with his leg bail lying on the ground, but they soon cottoned on to the fact that he was staying put to act as a runner for Hick, who had hurt his left hamstring chasing a ball around the

While Hick was swatting the ball o all parts, victory was always possible. But Neil Fairbrother called for a single, Atherton hesitated when he saw Roger Twose dive to stop at cover, and by the time England's captain set off again it was too late. He - or rather Hick - was run out Illingworth's instincts and decided by a couple of feet on 85. And with to bowl first. The result was a total | the rest of the batting subsiding.

the Motera Stadium in a one-day in-ternational on the notoriously slow pitch.

In other games, Zimbabwe (151-9) lost to the West Indies by six wickets; South Africa (321-2) defeated United Arab Emirates (152-8) by 169 runs; New Zealand (307-8) reaching the quarter-finals and victories against the United Arab Emitories and Kenya (199-6) went down to India by 7 wickets. Australia forfeited their match against Sri Lanka

Scores: New Zealand 239 for 6;

#### Football results

Fifth round: Huddersfield 2, Wimbledon 2, ipswich 1, Asion Villa 3, Man Utd 2, Man Oity 1;

FA CARLING PREMIERSHIP
Chelses 1, West Harn 2; Middlesbrough 1, Bolton
4, Sheft Wed 1, QPR 3, Leading positiones 1,
Newcaste (played 25, points 60), 2, Man Ulid (2651); 3, Uverpool (28-49). 511; 3, Liverpool (26-49).

ENDBLRIGH LEAGUE: First Division Charlion
1, Shefi Uid 1; Crystal Palace 4, Werford 0,
Grimsty 0, Regding 0; Lelosater 1, Pon Vale 1;
Luton 1, Millwell 0; Norwich 2, Wohenmampton 3;
Potternouth 2, Sunderland 2; Southend 1, Derby 2;
Stoke 1, Birmingham 0; Weet Brom 1, Transvers 1.
Leading positions: 1, Derby (30-65); 2, Charlion
(20-60); 3, Stoke (29-45).

(29-50); 3, Sroke (24-45).

Becond Division: Bournemouth 1, Blackpool 0, Brenford 2, Bistol C 2; Brighton 2, Crewe 2; Bristol R 1, Retherham 0; Burnley 3, York 3; Chesterfield 3, Wycombe 1; Oxford Uto 3, Welsali 2; Petorbough 8, Carlisle 1; Stockport 2, Notre County 0; Swansea 0, Hut 0, Leading positions: 1, Swindon (27-58); 2, Crewe (27-51); 3, Blackpool (29-51).

Third Division: Barnet 5, Wigen 0: Bury 7, Lincoln 1: Chester 3, Scunthorpe 0: Darlington 1, Manefeld 1: Doncaster 0, Plymouth 0, Exerer 1, Cambridge Utd 0; Gillinghern 1, Hereford 1; Leyton Onent 2, Northermoton 0; Preston 2, Colchester 0; Rochd Hartlepool O. Leading positione: 1, Gifingham (30-60); 2, Preston (29-54), 3, Chester (28-47). TENNENTS SCOTTIBH CUP: Fourth round Airdre 2, Forfer 2; Dundee Utd 1, Dunfermline 0 Cattle 2, Raith 0; Kilmernock 1, Hearts 2; St Johnstone 3, Montrose 0; Storthousemur 0, Catedonian T 1; Stirling 0, Aberdeen 2. BELLS SCOTTISH LEAGUE: First Division: Clydebank 1, Dumbarion 0 Leading positions: 1, Dundes Utd (25-46); 2, Greenock Morton (23-45); 3, Dunformine (22-44).

Second Division: Queen of South 2, Stranger Leading positions: 1, String (24-52), 2, East File (24-48); 3, Berwick (26-41). File (24-45): 3. Servick (20-41): Tisind Division: Ablon 2, Cowdenbeath 0, Alloa 0, Alboeth 3; Brechin 0, Ross County 0; Clyde 2, Bervick 1; East Stiting 0, Livingston 3. Leading positions: 1, Livingston (24-44); 2. Brechin (25-44); 3, Arboeth (24-41).

1